# THE
# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

## NO. CL.

### ART. I.—MEDIÆVAL INDIA.

[In the following pages attention has been confined to what the natives call "Hindustan" (the country north of the Narbada river). But the circumstances of the Deccan (the Southern country) were not dissimilar.]

THE unprogressive character of Indian society has two aspects. Elphinstone and Metcalfe have bestowed well-known expressions of praise on the tenacious little republics, the village-communes which have survived the storms of conquest and the lapse of time. But this remarkable conservatism has, of course, gone still further, and had its wholly deplorable side. In a rejection of external influences and of the efforts necessary to adopt itself to their action, Indian society has shown a culpable indolence from which it has greatly suffered. Yet it is not the less interesting to find that society preserving the archaic institutions of the old world; the ideas and practices which failed to provide for the prosperity and unity of Greece, and which Rome had outgrown before what is known to her modern historians as the Decemviral compromise. Both by apathy and by oppression India's conquerors have left her in the social stage in which they first found her: a world before the flood. Untravelled Europeans can hardly follow this. It is something like the imaginable result of Rienzi's Revolution if the Romans had been ready to resume the Tribune and the Comitia, and the military organisation of the Fabii and the Scipios.

India has been called "the Italy of Asia"; and in some respects the analogy is fair. From the point of social development, however, the distinction between the two countries is now very marked, and still more strongly characterises their mediæval history. India has always preserved the old Aryan conceptions of law and political economy. Society has been considered as a group of corporate families, whose conduct is to be regulated by

Divine—or Semi-divine—ordinances enforced by excommunication. Italy—like all the rest of the countries influenced by the Roman Empire—has long discarded those ideas, and treated society as composed of individuals controlled by the laws of a temporal Sovereign which are modifiable according to circumstances, and which depend on the sanction of penal force. In the one, therefore, religion has been, with all due respect, relegated to its proper and noble function of disciplining man's emotions and forming his character: in the other religion has maintained the vain and discrediting struggle for a dominion not her own. In which she must always fail, so long as her commands and threats are chiefly addressed to those who heed them least while most requiring direction.

India, like Italy, has been repeatedly subjugated by foreign conquerors: but all—at least until the present century—have maintained this unprofitable system, under all previous rulers the Sovereign power, being only occupied with raising revenue, fighting battles, and issuing what Sir H. S. Maine calls "occasional commands," has never been able to advance the progress, consolidate the union, or conciliate the regard, of the subject races.

In a prior paper (*Islám in India*) we have seen that the Hindu Empires from Asoka to Mahmud of Ghazni—a period of some twelve centuries—may have produced order, art and literature, but did not produce either history or historical materials. In all that long period—longer than from Egbert to Victoria—we find no traces either of events of importance or of writers able and willing to maintain a record. This peculiarity may be a mark of national happiness, or it may be the result of a metaphysical turn of mind; in any case it must be noted. Turning to modern times, the present writer has elsewhere (*Codification in India*) shown what has been the course adopted by the last conquerors, the British. It is the object of the present study to show what was the intermediate state of things, and how the mediæval masters of the country failed to establish themselves as benefactors or win the hearts of the people. It is no vain boast to say that the British, in spite of most imperfect sympathies on both sides, have influenced the people of India both more profoundly and more for good in one century than their predecessors did in seven. It will be found, the writer hopes, that the sorrows and infirmities that still weigh upon the generally virtuous and amiable races of this country have been chiefly caused by the dulness and selfishness of Tartar despots, amongst whom Akbar alone—following the example of a native Mahammadan statesman—showed any true conception of his duty.

Nevertheless the resemblance between India and Italy remains more than a mere accident of geography. Geographical chance has no doubt a great share in the likeness and its causes. Like Italy India has, to the east and west, an indented sea-board with many good harbours; on the south there is, in each case, a large and fertile island; on the surface of each are ranges of hills, fertile plains, vast natural resources, and an intelligent population divided into many fractional and not always friendly elements. India has the advantage in size, and scale, especially in the extent of its water-communications; but its river-system resembles that of the smaller country in that the northern parts of each are crossed by snow-fed streams which yield the means of irrigation in exact proportion to the wants of the season. Lastly, in the Alpine barriers that separate each from the rougher climates beyond, there are gateways through which hardier races have from time to time poured down upon the fields and cities of the richer but less warlike native populations. These, with all their mental resources, have seldom been able to protect their possessions. As the Gauls, Goths, and Germans have, at all times down almost to our own, done pretty much as they pleased with the Swiss Alps and the land they seem to guard, so in the mountain ramparts of India there have been always portals through which adventurers have pierced, from less productive regions to plunder, burn and slaughter in her cities, and to appropriate the produce of her fields and settle there as masters.

But this is in itself no ultimate evil. These incursions of strangers, when they have amalgamated duly with the natives, have made Italy what she has been for the greater portion of twenty-five centuries—namely, the intellectual centre of the earth. Britain, which for the latter part of that period, has tended to supplant Italy in literature, philosophy and politics, has also benefitted by a constant mixture of blood, of tongues, of ideas, whereby she also has been enabled to develope the best capacities of the various tribes who have blended in the resulting nationality.

The different fate of the Peninsula occupied by the Eastern Aryans, the fact that it has not shown the same amalgamating and progressive tendencies, is therefore calculated to arrest attention. And it seems worth while to examine into the special causes that have led to this variation, and try to ascertain why the people of India have never risen to the conception of social and political evolution that seems still growing in fruitful activity among the nations of Europe. The history of India has yet to be written, in this spirit at least. It is long and obscure; but we know that it has been unhappy. And the sufferings which, almost uniformly, mark its course have been more like the

infirmities of increasing decripitude and approaching dissolution than like the growing pains and salutary experiences of adolescence and of progress. Why is this?

The first invaders of "Hindustan," or Upper India, of whom we have any authentic record, were the Vedic Aryans. All attempts to fix the date of their arrival have failed. Possibly their invasions did not all occur at the same time; but the similarities between the earliest records and the linguistic remains of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, together with the likeness among their conceptions of Law and Religion, point to a common origin and to an almost contemporaneous dispersion. Then we have traces of subsequent invasions by "Huns" and "Scythians"; coins and inscriptions show a compound element after the retreat of the Macedonians. Then there was another Scythian incursion which came to an end about the Christian era, to be followed by a native dynasty called "Gupta," which was succeeded in turn by another called "Ballabhi." About this time the Empire seems to have broken up into several independent kingdoms, such as Magadha, Mithila, Delhi, Saurashtra, and Ujain. Whether these continued entirely unmolested by foreign intrusion can hardly be decisively asserted, but probably such was the case. The Moslems who, so early as the 29th year of the Hijra era, had overthrown the native kingdom of Persia, and made settlements in the neighbourhood of Cabul and of Candahar, abstained from attacking India, and soon their warfare rolled westward where it long absorbed itself in the Roman Provinces. When they had conquered Asia Minor, Libya and Spain, and had been checked at the Pyrenees, they naturally turned east for easier conquests. But their first efforts were spasmodic; and in their earlier attacks on India they chiefly sought to ravage her fields and towns, and to return to their own lands glutted for a time with carnage, and laden with spoil. It was not until the end of the twelveth century after Christ, more than five hundred years after the death of Muhamad, that an Afghan host, descending from the mountains of Ghor, fell upon the Punjab and encountered the forces of the Delhi kingdom then led by a Chief of the Chanhan Rajputs, named Pirthi Singh, or "Rai Pithora." This chief defeated the Ghorian invaders at Thanesar A. D. 1193.

Two years later they returned, and near the same spot inflicted on the Hindus a crushing overthrow. The city of [old] Delhi and whatever territory could be ruled from thence was occupied by the Ghorian general. His name was Kutb-ud-din Aibak; and we may note that it was he who planned and partly erected the grand monument of victory that bears his name at

Dehli, and promises to bear it down to many a coming age—the tower called "Kutb Munur"—covering the basement story with graceful arabesques, still sharp and clear, in which are interlaced loyal inscriptions in honour of his lord Bin Sám. Aibak was a Mameluke, and a faithful servant while his lord lived; after the latter's death, however, he became independent at Delhi where he founded what is known as "the Slave dynasty." In this line we may notice Shams-ud-din Altamsh, from 1211 to 1236 A. D., who continued to inhabit the old fortified city of Rai Pithora which he greatly beautified. After a variety of short reigns mostly ending in the murder of an imbecile sovereign by some unscrupulous Mayor-of-the-palace, Nasir-ud-din became king in 1246. A peaceful recluse, he reigned for twenty years and died in his bed without having distinguished himself in conduct or in fortune, either for evil or for good. This most unusual fact was due to the virtue and ability of his minister Ghaias-ud-din Balban. On the king's demise the minister succeeded without a struggle, and removed his residence to Kilokhari on the Jumna, a few miles eastward of the old city. He had been one of a band of Mamelukes known as "The Forty," who had monopolised the power of the State during the recent weak dominion. But Balban was a different ruler, making examples, even among the brotherhood itself, where he thought that example was needed. He put the army on so sound a footing, that the incursions of Northern pagans which had become constant were rolled back and stayed, while provinces to the eastward were added to the Empire. Eventually, however, the king lost his son in battle with the Mughal marauders who had returned in force. They at the same time captured the celebrated poet Khusru (known as *Tota*, or "Parrot") to whom we are indebted for a vivid picture of the savages to which further reference will be found hereafter. He was not personally molested by them, but was retained in captivity until his friends redeemed him by a heavy ransom. Balban died in 1286 and was succeeded by his great grand son Kai Kubád, a weak and dissolute youth whose murder soon after brought to an end the dynasty of the Mameluke, or "Slave kings."

They were succeeded by an Afghan line known in history by their surname of "Khilji, of whom the first Jalal-ud-din was a feeble ruler for the founder of a dynasty. In his time the country suffered much, both from intestine commotions and from renewed irruptions of the Mughals. Having thus lost the confidence of his subjects he became the object of treasonable attempts; and was ultimately murdered by his own nephew A. D. 1296. The murderer became king under the title of Ala-ud-din, and reigned for twenty years. During the greater part of that time he dis-

played quite exceptional gifts, both practically and in the direction of art. He enlarged the great Mosque by the Kutb Minar, and demolished such of the Hindu monuments as had been spared by his predecessors. He also completed the outer defences, cementing the masonry with the blood of "thousands of goat-bearded Mughals" slaughtered for the purpose. But this grim builder was by no means inclined to trust for salvation to walls and bulwarks. The constant menace held over the country by the Northern hordes was not, he thought, to be encountered solely, or even principally, by defending the capital. He took more effectual measures of protection; first attacking the invaders when they appeared again in India, and then checking renewed invasion by erecting forts along the road of their advance. His farthest post of this sort was at Multan, and it was held by Gházi Malík, his principal Commander, a half-bred Turk. Ultimately Alá-ud-din became overwhelmed by disease and by the fatal ambition of an unworthy favourite by whom he was assassinated. The traitor made an unsuccessful attempt to carry on the administration, on the defeat of which a son of the late king was set on the throne. He was in turn murdered by a parasite of Hindu origin; and a period of confusion ensued, during which the Hindus obtained power by favour of the usurper. The rebels assumed possession of the capital where they held anarchic sway for five months.

Finally, the Government was assumed by the head of the army Gházi Maíik, who quelled the Hindu faction and became King in 1320 A. D. He removed the capital to a new site, south-east of the old city—the new residence of royalty was in a commanding position not far from the river. It was protected not only by the walls of Alá-ud-din but by still stronger fortifications of its own which still command the admiration of posterity. This capital he called Tughlakábád, after his own title Ghaias-ud-din Muhamed Tughlak; and it was intended apparently as a defence no less against the Mughals than against the Hindus, against whom moreover, he waged some distant war. But there was a third danger against which no walls could avail. After a reign of five years King Tughlak fell a victim to domestic treason.

His son, Juna Khán, to whose machinations this was due, has left his mark on history as *Khuni Sultan*, "the Bloody Lord." Barni, a chronicler, who knew him well, describes him as a monster of most peculiar type. Learned without the religious faith, which in those days accompanied Moslem learning able and accomplished without the slightest tincture of that humanity which men are always wont to expect as the concomitant of culture, he lived and died in peace, after a reign of fifteen years.

During this period a terrible famine fell on the country about Delhi, which the tyrant accordingly abandoned, dragging the miserable population away to the Deccan where he tried to plant the survivors in the district of Deogri. Here he built the grand castle of Daulatábád which still stands sternly on a precipitous rock rising a thousand feet above the surrounding plain. He then tried to re-people the Dehli territory from the adjacent districts of Upper India. General discontents ensued which he quenched by the most ruthless exhibition of rigour. He tried, however, to excuse himself to the historian. "I have no pleasure," he said," in revolts, though men will have it that I cause them by my conduct. Nor am I to be turned from my system, either by revolt or by reasoning. I inflict chastisement upon the bare suspicion of rebellious design, and repay with death the most trifling symptoms of contumacy." On another occasion, towards the end of his reign, he so far gave way as to contemplate abdication. "I am angry with my people," so he told Barni, "no treatment of mine makes them better. My remedy is the sword, so that the disorder may be cured by suffering. The more they rebel the more I punish." There is something inexpressibly lifelike in these apologetic utterances, as of a despot without present control anticipating the judgment of posterity.

Juna (Tughlak II.) died in 1340 and was succeeded by a cousin whom he had educated for the post. This ruler, Firoz Sháh Tughlak, was one of those virtuous and amiable men who appear in the darkest times as if to vindicate the capabilities of human nature. His first care, as he tells us in his *Memoirs*, was to bury his deceased patron in a magnificent tomb. "I sought out," he adds, "all those who had been maimed by my departed lord, and the surviving kindred of those who had been put to death by his orders. These I compensated and took from them certificates of forgiveness which I placed by him in the grave." One can hardly fail to be touched by the thought of a despotic ruler thus providing a dead benefactor with vouchers for the great Audit. In a similar spirit he selected the names of his most distinguished predecessors and ordered them to be recited in the weekly worship of the mosques before his own. His next care was to complete the structures that they had left unfinished. Not till then did he begin building on his own account; his labours including the enormous new city of Firozábád. This extended from the old bridge still standing south of Indrapat to the site of the modern house known as Hindu Rao's that stands upon the ridge north of the modern town of Sháhjahán. It contained no less than eighty

principal places of public worship, and the population may be estimated at not much short of half a million. As we shall see presently even this good and great monarch was unable to recognise the claims of the Hindus who formed the majority of his subjects ; but intolerance was not then considered a fault in a ruler, either in Asia or in Europe.

In his old age Firoz abdicated, and for any good purpose the Tughlak dynasty soon ceased to exist. In 1397 the famous Taimur (Tamerlane) came down on the land. By this time the Northerners had embraced Islám, but their conversion does not seem to have mitigated their ferocity. All the cities of the Dehli plains were sacked, and a multitude, vaguely computed at 100,000, gratuitously butchered.

Taimur then returned to Turkestan, retaining a nominal sovereignty over India. The Empire soon, in actual fact, shrank to the dominions of a petty principality which left but few traces and gave way to a revised Afghan power, under the line of Lodi, which showed a little more vigour. The capital was removed to Agra where some buildings of the time are pointed out. This dynasty was brought to an end by the famous Timuride, Mohamad Zahur-ud-din Bábar in A. D. 1519-25, when Ibrahim Lodi was overthrown and killed at Panipat.

In the long period of sin and sorrow of which a hasty view has here been shown, it is not possible to think of the state of the people as other than wretched. Massacred by the Mughals, massacred by their own Moslem fellow-countrymen, driven from their homes, deprived of all outward attributes of citizenship, debarred the public exercise of their religion, they clung the closer to the faith of their fathers, and preserved, under all oppression, the fabric of their hereditary institutions. Of their rulers we have records, chiefly in connection with wars and architecture, the crimes of violence which they committed in seizing power, and the crimes of violence to which they in their turn were exposed at the hands of those by whom they were supplanted. Of the state of the Hindus who formed the bulk of the people, the Mahamadan chroniclers tell us but little ; their short and wasted opportunity at the end of the Khilji dynasty was soon quenched in blood ; but the very occurrence of such a rising among a people usually so apathetic and submissive, seems indicative of long previous misery. Evidently they suffered alike from the wickedness of their rulers and from the weakness, alike from the ravages of the Mughals and from the rapine of the royal Ministers. But they are not generally a complaining people, and they are not writers of history, so that we must be content with reasonable conjecture. One remarkable sign of the times remains. Two of the

text-writers still admitted as authorities on Hindu Law in Northern and Southern India respectively, wrote in the beginning of the 14th century, when the first of the Tuglaks was making war in both countries, in the Deccan and in Tirhoot. * Such is the Hindu character that it requires social regulations in the midst of oppression and calls for codes even through the clash of arms. The probability, therefore, is that the Hindus lived there much as they have lived since, without much active discontent, regarding both invaders and domestic masters as they regarded famine and the small-pox—a burden and mysterious dispensation to be accepted with all the other loads laid on them by an inexorable fate. They pursued their needful avocations, so far as the trouble allowed, according to the usages to which they stuck like the traveller in Æsop whom Boreas vainly undertook to strip. Founded, like the primitive societies of their Western kinsfolk, on the integer of the family-corporation, their society maintained the system that seems now so strange, but which is still administered by their modern rulers after so many other things have changed. We have seen them producing texts and commentaries on their law ; as to procedure they were doubtless left to themselves no less. The very contempt that, as in the parallel case of the Osmanlis in Greece, kept the conquerors from studying the customs of the conquered, preserved to the latter their autonomy.

These archaic systems—of themselves sufficient to make India one of the most interesting countries in the world —will be found ably summarised in Mr. J. D. Mayne's excellent work on *Hindu Law.* They display in full operation ideas and mental habits which in Europe had died out before the age of Justinian. In British India, it is true, the remedies provided by this system are now obtainable by forms of action as regular as those of an English Chancery-suit; and the action is conducted before trained Judges by the aid of a trained Bar. The tendency of the Courts has been to treat the Hindu Law as an enactment of the State, and even to extend its principles to non-Aryan races ; while the relief afforded is enforced by the strength based on an unconquered army. The legal literature of the time with which we are dealing leads to the conclusion, that mediæval India got on without such machinery. Yet it can hardly be supposed that the law was equally efficacious when the suit took the form of an act of private distraint, when the Court consisted of five old ploughmen, and when the execution of the degree

---

* *v.* Prof. Rajkumar Sarvadhikari's *Hindu Law of Inheritance* (Lecture VII.) Calcutta, 1882.

was left to public opinion, supported only by spiritual penalties. But, if the Hindu Society suffered from the neglect of the Government, still more must the Government have suffered by losing the chief means of connecting itself with the thoughts and affections of the people.

During this period originated the Urdu language, an application of Western Prakrit to the use of all classes, which is still growing, and which promises to become the *lingua franca* of the whole peninsula. Using, as it does, the Perso-Arabic character, and borrowing words impartially from all the tongues around, this copious dialect is a proof that considerable intercourse must have even then existed between the conquerors and conquered. In fact it is a symptom similar to that presented by the Norman adoption of a modified English in the reigns of the Plantagenets.

We can form no estimate of the revenue or population under the early Turkish and Pathán rulers of Upper India. We do not know either the exact value of their money, or the exact extent of their territories. Their integer of account was called "silver *tanka*" of which we can only conjecture that it was an approximate equivalent of the more recent "Rupee." Firoz Sháh tells us, that he remitted a number of taxes amounting to three millions of this coin annually, but he adds that he extended the *jizia* (capitation-in-lieu-of-death) to Brahmins who had previously been exempted, and whom he assessed at 10 *tankas* per head. In other ways he showed the same intolerance; he informs us that he distroyed Hindu temples wherever he found them, and put to death those who adhered to the public worship of idols after due warning. So difficult is it for the best of statesmen to rise above the level of his party and his age. The following appear from the memoirs of this Sovereign to have been the chief, if not the only, sources of revenue :—

1*st.*—The *Khiráj*, a tithe on agricultural produce, levied from all classes of cultivators.

2*nd.*—The *Jizia*, or capitation levied from heretics and unbelievers.

3*rd.*—The fifth of war-prize, and of the outturn of mines.

The revenue, however, was probably assessed in a very fluctuating and capricious manner. Many new taxes must have found their way into the budget between the palmy days of the Patháns and those of the Mughals; for Akbar abolished, it is said, no less than fifty-eight items soon after his accession, inclusive of the *jizia*, which had come to be collected without any practical imit beyond the power of the people to pay and of the colectors to extort. The latter had, under the Patháns, been wont to realise with every circumstance of barbarity and humiliation. Barni, the chronicler, to whom we are indebted for the second

Tughlak's curious apologies, represents a grave Kázi of the period giving the following opinion as to the duty of revenue payers and officers :—

"When called on to pay taxes the Hindus are to do so with all humility and submission. Should the collector show a wish to throw dirt in their faces, they should open their mouths to receive it. In such wise should they stand before the collector; the object whereof is to show the obedience of subject infidels, to promote the glory of Islam, and to express our contempt for false religions; for the Korán says they should either accept Islám, be killed, or be enslaved. It is only we followers of Abu Hanifa, in fact, who have been able to substitute the *jizia*. In all other schools the rule is—'Islám or Death!' "It was, no doubt, evident even to dull bigots like this Kazi, that this tax was in the circumstance, the only possible alternative to perfect toleration. You cannot slaughter the entire population of a continent. Nevertheless some of the measures taken to make Hindus weary of their creed went very far."

With rulers of that sort on one side, and with a very considerable lack of protection against the Mughal invasions on the other, it is clear that the people of Hindustan were between the devil and the deep sea. If anything could be conceived worse than the Moslem rulers of the country in the early middle ages, it would be the non-Moslem invaders who constantly came down to plunder it from Central Asia.

The great Tartar conqueror Temujin, known to history by the title of Jengziz (Changhez) Khán, died A. D. 1226, and was succeeded in the lands on the North of the Oxus by Chaghtai his second son. Soon after which we begin to hear of the incursions into Upper India; and for nearly two centuries the chronicles are full of the cruel ravages of a fierce, filthy, pagan enemy, of whose appearance and manners a picture by an eye-witness has come down to us. About A. D. 1287 the poet Khusru—as already mentioned—returned from captivity among these "Mughals" (or "Turks of Kai*" as he also calls them) and gave a description of them as wearing sheepskin helmets and leather armour scarcely to be distinguished from their natural hides. According to the poet's scared view, they had faces like fire and eyes like gimlets, an odour more terrible even than their colour, short necks, wrinkled cheeks, wide noses and mouths, long moustaches and scanty beards, their chests swarmed with vermin, and their food was pig's and dog's flesh. Making allowance for national antipathy this is a scarcely charged picture of Tartar "Braves" as still described by

* This is a pun : *Kai*, besides being "vomiting." the name of a Tartar tribe also means.

Chinese travellers. We learn from Marno Polo, however, that these unattractive people were in search of a religion ; and not long after they began to embrace Muhamadanism. Less than two hundred years later we find them handsome, learned, and highly orthodox Moslems, with stately manners and bushy beards ; somewhat disposed, moreover, to repudiate their tribal designation.

In this transformation, which is one of the most complete and rapid of which we have any record, we see that Asiatics are by no means incapable of progress. At its conclusion, Babar headed a Mughal invasion of India totally different from what that country had previously known by the name. Contemporary drawings and writings show us the followers of Babar as a jovial crew of men-at-arms, with fair and ruddy complexions, and unveiled wives, delighting in golden armour and brocaded raiment, using artillery and generalship in warfare, loving to carouse in the intervals of peace, in shady gardens, or by the banks of streams. The Mongolian savage of the frosty steppes had developed, in those few generations, a civilisation little, if at all, inferior to that of their Western contemporaries, the countrymen of Boccacio and of Chaucer. Those who remained in Siberia had nothing left in common with the Indian Mughals, but the foundation of the old Turki speech.

If this be admitted, as it probably will be by most of those who study the subject, we shall be better able to understand why the term "Mughal" at this time acquired a dyslogistic sense in India. Babar, though claiming descent from Changhez and Mughal Khan, is loud in abuse of the Mughals. And his successors—though known as Mughals to their Indian subjects—applied to themselves and their countrymen, to their race and their dynasty, the name of Chaghai, Changhez Khan's second son.

The life and adventures of Babar are well known through English and French versions of his autobiography. Their recapitulation here would not throw much light on our present subject. It is, however, proper to remark in passing, that Babar abstained from the fanatic hostility towards unbelievers that had hitherto been a part of all Muhamadan policy in India. It is true, that this abstention was due rather to motives of policy and of contempt than to any spirit of toleration in the abstract. Still less was it due to any special admiration of the character and manners of the Hindus as known to him. The conquerer's bad opinion of his new subjects has been so often quoted, that a few sentences are all that can be required here :—

"Hindustan," says Babar, "is a country that has but little to recommend it. The inhabitants are not good-looking ; they have no idea of social pleasures or of friendly intercourse ; they

have no genius or comprehensive ability, no polish of manner, amiability or sympathetic feeling ; no ingenuity or mechanical inventiveness, no architectural skill or knowledge ; they have no decent houses, no good fruit, ice or cold water; their markets are not well supplied ; they have neither public baths or colleges ; neither candles nor candlesticks. If you want to read or write at night, you must have a filthy fellow standing over you with a flaring torch."

Such is what, after four centuries of misrule, an intelligent observer had to say of the Hindus. He died before he could correct any mistakes in his opinion or effect any improvement, and his body was taken all the way from Agra to Cabul for sepulchre, as if the hated land of exile was not good enough to hold his bones. But the fortunes of his son, Humaiun, gave startling proof that the Chaghtai dynasty must exercise a final choice between a mere marauding existence like the conquests of the earlier Mughals and an undertaking of sustained vigour. Civilised as they were, the Turkmans had not lost the frivolity and love of ease that had characterised their barbarian ancestors. They were overthrown by a Hindustani soldier-of-fortune named Sher Khán, and driven out of the country, a very few years after the death of Bábar (A. D. 1541.) And this adventurer assuming the government displayed in civil administration the same efficiency that he had shown in war. His biography, written after the restoration of the Chaghtais and under the inspiration of one of their princes, can hardly be suspected of wilful flattery. From it we learn that, while yet a petty district officer, Sher Khán evinced the mixture of humanity with energy that must always form the best guarantee for the success of an arbitrary ruler. On assuming charge he assembled his subordinates and notables. To the former he said, "I have set my heart on the improvement of this district, and in that object your own interests are as much concerned as is my reputation. I am well aware that success depends at last upon the humble peasantry. I know also the covetousness and oppression from which they often suffer. I have for these reasons determined to make the assesments by measurement of the land, and have laid down the fees for collection. And I give you warning that, if I find you exacting more, I shall be always present at the audit, and shall debit you with the excess in my accounts." After a few instructions as to the opposite fault of allowing a just demand to fall into arrear, he turned to the village elders, and bade them come at once to himself whenever they had complaints to make, for he would allow no one to oppress them. They were even to pay in kind or in cash according to their own convenience.

As he began in this comparatively humble position, so did

Sher Khán continue to act after attaining supreme power. Yet even he, whatever the reason, hardly rose to the office of legislation, the highest duty of a Sovereign. In the first place, he was a devout Moslem; and the whole spirit of the Moslem system, as a closed and perfected Revelation of Divine will and human duty, is opposed to lawgiving by an earthly ruler. And further, Sher Khán (or Sher Sháh as he was called after he became a monarch) had too short a reign, and one too much occupied with war to allow leisure for deep social reform. Yet the nature of the attempts attributed to him shows that some sense of the real necessity of the situation was in the air. His ordinances touched on almost all the primary parts of administration. Thus, if thefts or robberies could not be brought home to the actual offenders, the heads of the commune in whose borders the crime occurred were held answerable; that is to say, if they failed to satisfy the authorities that the offenders had found harbour elsewhere. This may seem a rude method; but in the hands of competent administrators it would have its uses. Still more was such responsibility enforced where the crime had been complicated with murder. Protective measures were not omitted, walled enclosures being provided along the main roads where travellers could rest at night, with their property secure about them. If any such died upon a journey, their goods were taken care of until the heirs could be found. Customs were only levied twice, on the frontier and in the market: a vast advance upon the usage of the time by which toll was too often taken from the merchant at every possible opportunity. Officials were ordered to make their own private purchases in open market and at full market rates, another significant regulation more easily enforced than might be supposed, by reason of the publicity of their position and the number of colleagues and subordinates interested in getting public men into trouble. One great source of trouble to the people of Eastern countries arises from the tours of officials; and, still more, from the march of troops. To reduce this evil to a minimum Sher Sháh, on his line of march, inspected the crops and placed in the fields mounted sentries strictly charged with their protection. "I have heard," says a historian who knew one of the ministers of that reign, "that the King used to look out right and left; and, if he saw any one injuring a crop, he would cut off his ears with his own sword, then parading him round the camp with the stolen corn hanging from his neck." The owners of the injured fields were immediately compensated; and even in an enemy's country neither the people nor their property was molested. For the Sháh observed, "The cultivators are not to blame, they do but submit to those in actual power; and if

they are driven away by ill-treatment, our conquests will be of little profit." This explanation, by the way, deserves notice as indicating that the tillage was then dependent upon a scantily supplied labour market and a sparse population.

But enough has been said to show what a change was begun by Sher Sháh. When we remember that, soon after the Chaghtai restoration, many of his officials were retained in Akbar's service, it will be seen that to Sher Sháh is due the credit of having originated the attempt made by the mediæval rulers of India to do their duty to the country. Akbar, however, deserves his share of credit for following so good an example, and especially when set by a successful enemy. So far, indeed, did he carry his admiration for the deceased, that he personally ordered the writing of the biography of his father's conqueror to which we have been indebted for our extracts.

Sher Sháh was killed by an accident; and the Turkmans came down from Cabul and reinstated themselves in Delhi and Agra. Humaiun did not long survive the restoration: ere he had time to do any thing the Emperor died; and his eldest son found himself Emperor under the title of Muhamad Jalal-ud-din Akbar A. D. 1556. He was then very young, but after the first few years of consolidation (during which the immigrant noblesse were reduced to their proper position) the empire was for the time brought into a state of peace. For nearly half a century fairly tranquil times prevailed, during which Akbar maintained a constant struggle against the preponderance of Islam; studied the laws and religious systems of the natives; and opened the highest public posts to the best qualified men, without distinction of blood or belief. Seldom, perhaps never, has India had such a chance.

Our knowledge of Akbar's administration is chiefly derived from the writings of Abul Fazl, Allami, who was to him something like what Sully was to Henri IV. Some English writers who have not allowed for the characteristic insobriety of oriental rhetoric and for this writer's special enthusiasm, have thrown doubt on the Allami's testimony as that of a courtier bent on gross and indiscriminate adulation. But we know enough of the natures of both master and minister (even from hostile evidence) to show that this estimate would be just to neither. Badaoni, a bigoted Moslem, to whom Akbar's conduct was an abomination, has to give high praise to his character. Of Abul Fazl another equally orthodox writer admits that he was "a man of lofty soul who desired to live at peace with all men." That he was no mere flatterer is also clear from his end; for it was brought about by his fidelity in making an unfavourable report of the Heir Apparent by which he at once displeased the father and incurred the deadly resentment

of the son: indeed, it was by that son's contrivance that he was soon after put to death. The late Mr. Blochmann, who had studied these times more thoroughly than any other European, says, that he finds the charge of flattery "utterly unfounded." He adds that, "if we compare Abul Fazl's works with other historical productions of the East, we shall find that when he praises he does so infinitely less, and with much more grace and dignity, than any other Indian writer." It is further observable that he never became a Mansabdar, or Peer of the realm, but lived and died, like Pitt and Canning, without what are commonly called "honours."

Among other traits that Abul Fazl ascribes to his hero—and such, in every sense, was Akbar to him—is a humane innovation on the laws of war as then known in the East, and not there alone. The wives, children and dependants of a vanquished foe were no longer to be enslaved when they fell into the hands of officers and soldiers of the imperial army, but were to be left absolutely free to go where they pleased, either to their own homes, or to those of their kindred. Akbar was but twenty years of age when he laid down this humane principle. Next year he applied himself to the burdens of his own people, and remitted a lucrative tax that used to be levied from Hindu pilgrims visiting their sacred shrines. This, said the Emperor, was their way of worshipping the Almighty, and to throw obstacles in that way could not be pleasing to the object of their worship. In the following year (A. D. 1564) a still more important concession was made by repealing the odious *jizia*, or poll-tax, on unbelievers. We do not know what was its amount; but supposing there were ten million heads of families, and they paid annually ten rupees a head, we may perhaps form a fair idea of the nature of the concession. This tax was not reimposed for more than a hundred years; and its reimposition powerfully helped to precipitate the fall of the Empire.

It is further remarkable that all this indulgence to the Hindus who formed the majority of the population was shown before any person of that race had risen into high office. It was not until the year succeeding the repeal of the *jizia* that Todur Mal—a Hindu who had served under Sher Sháh—was engaged in Akbar's Chancery. The Emperor had certainly married a Hindu princess a year or two earlier, and that may have influenced his feelings towards the whole race. But the very act of taking a wife from among the unbelievers was a bold and original step, such as none of Akbar's predecessors had ever attempted. We learn that all the Hindu members of the household were allowed the free exercise of their religious observances. Towards the latter part of

his reign the Emperor reproached himself for not having gone far enough in the path of toleration when young. His sentiments, as recorded by Abul Fazl, are evidently the result of thought and experience; but even when young there is no reason to believe that he exercised any other than moral means. He confessed, however, that he had erred in using his position to make Hindus apostatise; but he said that he was now convinced that Mohamad's followers had no advantage. "To be circumcised," said Akbar, quite in the spirit of St. Paul, "to patter a creed, to lie prone upon the ground in terror, all this can avail nothing in the sight of God :—

> "In outward homage worship is not shown,
> Looks are but looks, truth lies in deeds alone."

Two years after Todar Mal's original engagement he was made Head of the Treasury; and he shortly afterwards submitted to the Emperor a fiscal code which Abul Fazl praises highly. It is unnecessary to go into details, which are to be found in books that are generally accessible. From independent sources it appears that the final result of these measures was the following: In the fortieth year of the reign the territories of the Empire extended from Balkh to the Bay of Bengal, and from the banks of the Brahmaputra to the borders of Berar. The revenue amounted to about ten *krors* of Rupees. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, a high Revenue officer of the time, confirms the estimate of the *Ain-Akbari*, saying that the whole country yielded a revenne of six hundred and forty *krors* of copper *tankas*. The copper *tanka* is not mentioned by other contemporary writers; but I believe it to have been the 64th part of the silver *tanka*, or Rupee. "The ruling silver *tanka*," says Mr. Thomas, though he takes a different view of the result, "was never divided in practice by any number but sixty-four" (*v. Chronicles of Pathan Kings.*) Whether there were any articles of separate revenue not here included would be difficult to decide. We have seen that Akbar took off the poll-tax and the pilgrim-tax. He is said to have remitted fifty-eight items in all; we cannot, therefore, assert with safety that there was any more revenue raised than this. But it is more than probable that a considerable part of the military forces was not paid out of this total, but consisted of men-at-arms and bowmen who followed the grandees. These took rank according to the number of horsemen they were supposed to furnish; and, so far as this represented a reality, it was doubtless a sensible relief to the Imperial Exchequer.

In the 28th year of his reign Akbar gave a proof of his consistent and intrepid humanity by personally rescuing a Hindu widow who was being driven against her will to burn herself

with her husband's body. The interested fanatics who were committing this foul crime threatened resistance; and the Emperor in spite of his rank seemed for a moment exposed to great danger: but his audacity prevailed. His guard coming up arrested the offenders; but the Emperor pardoned them after a short imprisonment, dismissing them to their homes with suitable admonition. Surely a king of men, this, and an example to Elizabeth and Philip, and Catherine de Medicis, his European co-œvals.

But, in fact, there was that working in the minds of the Emperor and his friend which rendered them very indifferent to the practices, and the disputes which then seemed so important to most persons. The Emperor was an unlearned man, a soldier, a sportsman, above all, a lover of his kind who had found an almost boundless field for well-doing. The wrangling and fierce antipathies of religious teachers were shocking to him. As a modern poet has said, he felt that he

> "Was called upon to exercise his skill
> Not in Utopia, subterranean fields,
> Or some secreted Island—Heaven knows where—
> But in this very world which is the world
> Of all of us; the place where, in the end,
> We find our happiness—or not at all."
>
> [*Wordsworth.*]

As for his Minister, we are informed by the orthodox writer already quoted that:—

"It was often asserted that Abul Fazl was an infidel, a Hindu, a fire-worshipper, a free-thinker, or perhaps an Atheist. But, it is a juster sentence to say that he was a Panthiest, who (like other *Sufis*) thought himself above the Prophet's law."

It was a strange alliance, that of the bold, boy-hearted hero with the gentle yet adventurous philosopher charged with all available learning: and one can hardly avoid wonder that, between them, they met with no better success. For a time, indeed, all promised fairly—as we shall presently see—but the Reformers had two invinicible antagonists, Superstition and Stupidity. And, farther, they suffered from the irremediable want of such a state of society as their's—the want of political organisation and valid institutions to preserve and consolidate their reforms. The Parliaments of the Tudors may not seem to us to have been very independent bodies. But their very existence ensured a certain amount of durability: and thus we obtain another sign of the need that all good Government has of the legislative faculty.

The illustrious scholar who, under the title of "Graf F.

A. *v.* Noer" is giving so much attention to the history of Akbar, has devoted an interesting study to this branch of the subject; and we cannot do better than avail ourselves of his abstract of the evidence, made in the light of the similar movemena which is going on among European nations at the present day. *

The long reign of Akbar must have seemed to many who lived under it a time of awakening; it was a trouble and a rapture like that spoken of by Wordsworth. It proved, in fact, but the "false dawn" of which we read in Persian poetry. The age in which we now live shows similar phenomena; but there is reason to hope that it is the true dawn at last, and broadening to the perfect day. It may be useful, and cannot but be interesting, to observe what were the elements of the movement of three centuries ago in India, and what were the causes that deprived it of permanent success.

Writing with the case of Germany specially before him, Count *v.* Noer, thus characterises the *culturkampf* of the sixteenth century:—

"The old, ever-renewing, fight between free-thought and slavish dogma, between statesmanship and priest-craft! History sufficiently shows the spectacle of these struggles of the two mightiest forces in popular life. Often has secular power entered into alliance with the heirarchy: often has it made concessions thereto: only a few have possessed the force and the will to throw down the gauntlet altogether."

If such encounters tax the boldest and most earnest rulers in civilised societies of the progressive type, what must be the difficulty when the conflict is with a system like that of the Arabian Prophet which bars progress by a foregone conclusion? In Islam we find the Church still obstructive and still influential to almost a greater degree than was the case with the Christian Church in the dark ages. "Faith and Law, Church and State, are here so identical in origin, so intimately blended with each other, that he who undertakes to shake the foundations of tradition must indeed find a sure position for himself if he would not bring the whole fabric in ruin on his head.' (*Noer.*)

Long before Akbar's accession we have seen the State in complete alliance with the Musalman Church; the Colleges of the one were endowed by the other; the interpretation, (and, indeed, the administration) of the Law proceeded from the Students of the Scripture; and the Councillors of Prince and people were clothed in the authority of Heaven. One is

---

* *Kaiser Akbar.* Leiden—E. T. Brill, 1880-81.

apt to think of Akbar as an all-powerful despot: but the *ulama*—the clerical lawyers of his day—looked on him as the mere instrument of Divine Government, and there was no aspiration from the lower levels of society to act in concert with the royal revolt above. The spiritual life of the Empire lay almost as supine under the gradually consolidated power of fanaticism as the fabled Titan under Etna.

Two classes of allies, indeed, were available. Akbar probably derived from them his first impulse as he certainly did most of his subsequent energy. These were, first, the Persian immigrants; and, second, the non-Musalman inhabitants of India.

Persia, where the people had of old incorporated on the Magian fire-worship a doctrine derived from the ancient Aryan Monotheism, had always offered to the Muhamadan propaganda an intelligent and an obstinate opposition. After the fall of the native dynasty and the vigour of the early Caliphs had combined to make Persia nominally a Moslem country, this element of the national character had set up several heretical tendencies. Even the visible church which professed outward conformity with Islam did so according to the views of the Shias, a minority who held to the hereditary transmission of the Caliphate and rejected a large part of the unwritten tradition of the Arabs. But, both within the pale of this visible church and without it, were heretical bodies of all sorts, down to blasphemers and atheists. Few more bold sayings are to be found than among the poets of this period. Take as an example, anything but extreme, this quatrain of the astronomer-poet of Khurasán—Umar Kháyyám:—

> "Though God's religion never was my care,
> Nor for His coming did my heart prepare,
> I still have hope to find the Mercy-Seat—
> Because I never worried Him with prayer"—

The dogmatic denial of the infinite was not usual, but there was a widely prevalent scheme—such as had much fascination for the Aryan mind in many times and places—the system which may be called Monism, or may be called Pantheism. That is to say, the conception of One sole existence, whereof all Nature is the many-hued manifestation: the "immanent" power of Spinoza, rather than the "transcendental" God of the semitic religions. To these general speculations at the period under notice had been added an expectation that the thousand years which had nearly elapsed (by lunar computation) since the date of the *Hijra*, would be terminated by the appearance of "Mahdi," the twelfth *Imám*, or Apostle, who would close the existing dispensation.

A political crisis in Persia had sent a number of these sectaries into exile; and many of them had sought refuge in India. Among them Shekh Mubárak and his gifted sons, Faizi and Abul Fazl,

had gained a footing at Court; and Akbar, who was already prepared for Persian influences by birth and education, was soon imbued by them with latitudinarian views.

But a further impulse was derived from Hinduism. We have already noticed ladies of this race in the household, and that they were allowed the exercise of their ancestral rites within the precincts of the palace. Thus exposed to a constant action from domestic intercourse, the Emperor was further stimulated towards that sympathy natural to a ruler who desired to make his people happy. Often under the still and starry sky of a summer-night would he sit upon a stone in the courtyard of his stately pleasure-house at Fathipur-Sikri, meditating on the problems of human life and the duties of a Sovereign. At other times, also by night, he would lean over the balcony of the *Khwáb-gáh* ("House of Dreams") in the same palace, while the Pandit Débí, swinging between heaven and earth in a basket hung from the parapet, initiated him into the mysteries of Vedic Nature-worship, or the subtle synthesis of the *Sankhya* philosophy. Modern travellers may still survey these semi-sacred scenes.

On the opposite side of the great enclosure visitors are shown a strange structure, commonly called the *Diwán-i-Khás.* From the centre of the ground-floor rises a thick column, some ten feet high, on the top of whose capital a broad entablature is joined by four causeways to the four corners of the room: on the sides are four galleries, each communicating with the central entablature by one of the four causeways. It can scarcely be doubted that this is the *Ibádat-khána* of contemporary writers with its four *aíwáns* for the different classes of disputants; in one the *Ulama*—the orthodox heads of the established hierarchy,—in another the Shia teachers, in a third the heterodox thinker, in the fourth the courtiers and soldiers who represented the world. On Thursday nights the Imperial inquirer would take his seat, cross-legged, on a carpet spread in the centre of this massive cobweb, and act as moderator of the discussions. Often would passion rise, and the hot debate rage round the Emperor till the awakening land was thrilled with the dawn of day. Then, as the sun's broad disc rose rapidly above the horizon calling the simple rustics to their work in the fields beyond the park-walls, some free-thinking poet like Faizi would scandalise the bigots with an eclectic hymn. Of such productions, the following is an actually preserved specimen:—

1.

**Come! let us raise an altar to the Light**
**And lay, with stones from Sinai's summit brought,**
**For our new *Kába* the foundation due.**

2.

**The ancient Kába's wall is broken down,**
**The basis of the *kibla* is removed,**
**On new foundations raise a lasting shrine.**

But such a state of things could not last. No effervescence ever can last. As, a few years earlier, the passions of an English king had led to the overthrow of spiritual power in the West, so in India a more dignified motive was to make the monarch the resolver of controversy the Head of the Church and the Defender of the [new] Faith. In the month of September 1579 appeared a decree, signed by the chief heads of the different schools and parties, in which it was announced that, for the glory of God and the extension of true piety, the Emperor Akbar was recognised as supreme in all matters of belief and doctrine.

By the beginning of the year 1580 the change appeared complete. The chiefs of the orthodox party had been banished or put to death (Count *v.* Noer is not deposed to admit that any executions took place on purely religious grounds; but if the Emperor used his power to remove opponents, there is perhaps no very material distinction); the use of Mahomedan names and formulas had been proscribed; Parsis and Hindus had been consulted; invitations had been addressed to the Jesuits of Goa. Mosques stood empty, or were used as town-halls or cavalry-stables. Three Jesuit missionaries had arrived at Court in February; and soon a small Catholic chapel arose at Agra, where there were already some Portuguese residents. An eclectic monotheism was proclaimed under the title of *Din Iláhi.*

In 1585 thousands began to adopt the new system. The historian Budaomi—whom the Count calls "the oriental Procopius"—puts down these adhesions to personal interest; and doubtless the vulgar inducements of satisfaction to ambition and to avarice, would not be wanting. Nevertheless, in the short list of the principal disciples we do not find the names of the chief peers, ministers, and generals, but only those of literary and social adventurers, such as Bir, Bal, and Faizi; of whom some, indeed, rose to situations of trust, but of whom none equalled, in civil or military distinction, some of the Hindus and Mahomedans who refused to abandon their ancestral creeds, and to whom yet the Emperor continued his confidence. Amongst these we must especially notice Todar Mal, the Chancellor of the Empire, a rigid Hindu to the last. By-and-bye the attempted Reformation came to nothing, even before the reign was ended. It has been shrewdly observed by Blochmann that the reformation of Akbar failed for want of permanent political institutions. There was no Parliament to confirm the monarch's decrees by the voice of public ratification, or to register them in the national archives. There was not even after Akbar's decease an experienced and influential minister of State to hand on the tradition of Reform to the succeeding sovereign. Akbar outlived all his immediate

friends and followers, with the solitary exception of the Raja Mán Singh; and, Mán Singh though able in the field and an astute intriguer, had never shown any interest in the large schemes of his imperial brother-in-law; and, like Todar Mal, he remained through life a devout Hindu.

Another fatal flaw in Akbar's scheme was that it either went too far, or not far enough. It was the good fortune of the English Reformers of the same age, Henry VIII. Cranmer, and Elizabeth, that they were in accord with the general public feeling, and that they understood both where to innovate and where to arrest innovation. But, in the mixture of Hinduism, Sunworship, and Sufiism, which the historians of Akbar miscall "Divine Monotheism," there was no distinct point of attraction for the Hindus. There was no doubt, a repudiation of the Semitic idea of God as a magnified Sultan of unlimited power and uncontrolled caprice: but there was not a distinct and philosophic acknowledgment of the Aryan idea, that of an immanent power received in human consciousness by means of the phenomena of Nature.

Abul Fazl, having (as above-mentioned) offended the Heir-apparent Prince Salim, was slain on returning from a special mission. The Emperor grieved sore; but Salim was then in rebellion and could not be punished: moreover the proud father seems to have always spoiled "Shekhu Baba," as he called his eldest son. He died about three years after his faithful minister and friend; and was succeeded by Salim. The Round-Table of India was dissolved, and there was no one to take up its noble hopes and projects. The new Emperor—by title Nur-ud-din Jahangir—was not indeed intolerant; but he was a selfish debauchee, bred in the purple, and full of the weaknesses incidental to that condition. During his reign no intellectual movement took place. Under his successor, the sumptuous Sháhjahán, the Empire was in equipoise. Beautiful architecture—of a somewhat effeminate character—is almost all that it left behind it; though the testimony alike of competent Asiatics and experienced European travellers corroborates the favourable estimate of the prosperity of the country recorded by Mr. Mount Stuart Elphinstone.

Then followed the bigoted and crafty Alamgir—or Aurangzeb as he is generally called by Europeans—and under him the Hindu and Christian officers were cashiered, the capitation was renewed after an abeyance of more than a century, and several provinces were added to the Empire. The revenue rose to treble the amount that had contented Akbar; but it proved a very bad investment. A threatening symptom, already, was the celebrated letter of the Rajput Chief (v. C. R. No. 142, p. 252,) dated in 1679. The warning was unheeded. Early in 1707 the aged tyrant passed away, uttering from his death-bed admissions of remorse for the

past, and anxiety for the future. He abstained from the usual practice of naming his successor, only bequeathing to "whichever of his sons was fortunate," the guardianship that he confessed himself to have abused. It was a legacy of strife and ruin.

The history of mediæval India ended as it had began; in civil warfare, in Northern invasion, in flames of fire and swamps of blood. With many advantages—as compared with their immediate predecessors—the refined and humane Chaghtai monarchs had indeed given India a breathing-time of several generations. But they had founded no permanent institutions; and the last state of that land was as bad as the first. We have seen what was the aspect of the people as viewed by Bábar: we shall presently see what it was when the puppet heir of Bábar's sceptre had become a dependent of Hindu freebooters. The Mughal Empire had at last to undergo the fate that attends all the Empries of the East. The spider weaves her web in the halls of Afrasyáb.

Lawless, incohèrent, indefinite in structure and co-ordination of parts, these States have never succeeded in following the true course of social evolution, or obeying the influences of political order. They have been the comets of the historical system; blazing brightly for a brief season, and then vanishing—usually to return no more. The Moslem power in India has added this peculiar evil, that it has neither been able to supersede nor to adopt the old Aryan arrangements of the country. Their own system too had, in an extreme degree, the faults that attend systems which for want of a better word, we may be permitted to call "Levitical." The Hindu law, indeed, claimed a spiritual origin, but it has always, with the practical good sense of the Aryan race, admitted variations of comment that have amounted to organic reform. The law professed in Bengal is essentially different, in many important points, from that followed in less civilised parts of India. But the Moslem system, while jumbling together the moral, ceremonial, and social precepts of an undeveloped community, precludes itself by its Divine claims from incorporating any new elements, whether spontaneous or borrowed from other races. Further, while their laws are not enacted by the temporal Sovereign, they are not administered in conformity with the popular conscience. Akbar's was the most serious attempt that a ruler of India ever made, down to the present century; and Akbar, as we have seen, did not succeed. The consequences to the people have been deplorable, and have continued to afflict them, even to the third and fourth generation.

Nothing can exceed the disorganisation of society as presented to us by Indian historians of the last century. Thus Dow, writing about 1775, and doubtless from native information, says that:—

"The country was torn to pieces with civil war, and groaned

under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bonds of private friendship and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm."

Similar testimony is cited, from a native contemporary, by Tod, the historian of Rájasthán:—

"The people of Hindustan at this period thought only of present safety and gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it; and man, centered solely in himself, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public as of private virtue, became universal after the invasion of Nádir Sháh; nor have the people become more virtuous yet, and consequently are neither more happy nor more independent."

These, it must be admitted, are frightful pictures of the past to which a population naturally amiable and intelligent could be brought by the faults of their rulers. The evil effects will long continue to be seen. We are told by Baillie Fraser, on the authority of the late Col. Skinner, C. B., who entered the Mahratta service about 1795, that the country had become almost depopulated:—

"So reduced was the actual number of human beings, and so utterly cowed their spirit, that the few villages that did continue to exist at great intervals had scarcely any communication with each other; and so great was the increase of beasts of prey,—that the little communication that remained was often cut off by a single tiger known to haunt the road."

Of the moral character of this miserable remnant, we have the following trenchant description by a shrewd observer in the early part of the present century:—

"They are the most deceitful, mischievous race of people that I have ever seen or read of. I have not yet met with a Hindoo who had one good quality, and honest Mussulmans do not exist."
—(See Wellington's *Supplementary Despatches*, 1797 to 1805.)

When we look around in the India of to-day, we can hardly believe that we live among the grand-children of the people thus described. In British India the people are as numerous, per square mile, as in Belgium; roads, railways and canals reticulate the map; three universities (to which a fourth is now being added) send out graduates yearly; a large revenue is punctually realised; India, in a word, is under the reign of Law.

What we have called the "Levitical" system will not produce that result. Like Akbar, Solomon stands isolated in the history of his country. This conception of the regulation of human conduct has probably existed, and for sufficient reasons, in most primitive

states of socety. Even in Europe it long struggled against the conception which may be termed "Political." It led the latter into an unholy alliance, as when spiritual courts were allowed to hand over spiritual offenders to the secular arm. It still lurks as a latent poison in many civilised systems. But in the ordinary affairs of life it has almost entirely ceased to act among progressive races ; and races have progressed in proportion as it has been suppressed. Throughout all lands, occupied or ruled by such races, it is recognised that the business of the State is to issue and enforce the ordinance of civil conduct. Law, as defined in Littre's Dictionary, is "a prescription emanating from the sovereign authority," and what that authority allows it practically enacts, disobedience being abated by exemplary consequences proceeding from the same source.

The early Romans, incorporating their *jus civile* into edicts and codes, modified by the *jus gentium*, developed a body of law that has been substantially adopted by many modern States. The early English, while excluding from ordinary affairs the texts of Roman law, yet admitted the ground principle by codifying (in their rude way) the common Law of their pagan forefathers, under King Alfred and his successors. Such, indeed, was the vitality of this system, originally tribal, that it was adopted by the Anglo-Norman nationality in the thirteenth century and has ever since continued to be the basis of all statutory evolution. But what suits one people will hardly ever suit another. In the settlement of their Irish conquests the English would not abdicate their legislative functions as the Moslems did in Greece and India. Hence they found themselves compelled to adopt one out of two alternative courses. They could either give sanction to the indigenous, or "Brehon" code, leaving the local courts to modify it from time to time as occasion might arise ; or they could sweep it away and introduce their own system. They chose the second, though they have carried it out with some vacillation, and both countries may long rue the choice. In India the firmer and wiser course has been adopted ; and the omens are favourable to its success. Though a more recent conquest, both vaster in extent, more foreign, and more truly formidable, this country has been found an easier one to govern than Ireland. For it affords the spectacle of a number of long anarchic tribes accepting the re-enactment of their ancient laws by an alien and a distant sovereign, and submitting to sanctions such as their own system never contemplated. It was the rejection or neglect of this method that did the chief mischief in Ireland as in mediæval India ; and so caused anarchy to succeed Akbar and Shahjahan in the one country as it has succeeded Cromwell and William of Orange in the other.

H. G. KEENE.

## ART. II.—AGNOSTICISM.

*(A Study.)*

THE object of this paper is not to establish any cherished scheme of faith or morals, or to prove the truth or falsity of any theological doctrine. I desire to offer, for the consideration of all who will not deem the discussion foolish or impious, a few suggestions on certain important topics, with the hope that what is here written may possibly serve as aids to reflection; and that I may be able to present a sketch, and to some extent a justification, hasty and at the best imperfect, of a mode of thought in the condemnation of which many divergent schools of thought find their single point of union. To attempt a full treatment of the subject is beyond the scope of my present purpose, and such an essay would involve a disquisition of greater length than can be allowed to this article. Nor shall I fail in my purpose even if I am unable to add to the stock of original ideas—ideas on the grave questions—with which I have to deal. It will suffice, if I may in some measure aid in the diffusion, among readers who have neither leisure nor inclination for the study of voluminous works, of the results attained by previous enquiry. And in the first place, I would premise that for those who are convinced of the saving truth of Christianity, or, indeed, of any other religion, and who, perhaps necessarily, deem the discussion of their cherished doctrines a dangerous diversion, these pages are not written. Far be it from me to attempt to shake the basis of a faith, unsustainable though I conceive the fabric to be, which affords to any man strength in the day of conflict, consolation in the time of trouble, and a hope in the hour of death. But already the fortress has been assailed, already the outworks are in the hands of the enemy, and it may tend to the peace of some anxious minds to suggest grounds for the belief that, when the citadel of faith has fallen, there will even then be no reason to despair of the republic. To those who claim the title of rationalist, I offer no apology for this paper.

At the commencement of our enquiry, it is necessary to come to an understanding as to the meaning to be attached to the term agnosticism. The word indicates not a theological system; least of all a dogmatic faith. Of all imaginable *isms* it makes the fewest demands upon its adherents, agnosticism holds out no promise of reward to believers, no threats of damnation to infidels. It consists in the mere recognition of certain apparent facts, in the acknowledgment of certain intellectual phenomena. In its ultimate analysis, it is merely a mode of thought. The

agnostic thinker holds the doctrine that, owing to the limitation of our faculties, we can have no knowledge of any thing supernatural, of any thing existing beyond the sphere of our consciousness; and that we have no warrant for believing that at any future time are we likely to acquire such knowledge. Further, he is convinced, that there is not sufficient evidence to induce him to admit that the consciousness of any individual, or collection of individuals, has ever penetrated beyond the phenomena of the external world. The agnostic requires evidence before he allows himself to yield his assent to any proposition. It must not be supposed, and but that the supposition has been made by shallow writers, it would seem scarcely needful to make the reservation, that any agnostic, worthy of the name of a thinker, requires the direct evidence of his own, senses to prove every fact. It is not some special kind of evidence that he requires, but evidence of any nature sufficient to justify belief. Failing such testimony all the doctrines of theology all the dogmas of the schools, all the more or less pleasing conception of the existence and attributes of a god or gods, of the persistence of life beyond the grave, and of the conditions of that life, are for the agnostic mere assumptions. On these questions, he considers the evidence insufficient. It should be noted, however, that he does not therefore deny the possibility of the truth of any of these opinions. Of all the means by which it has been sought to dethrone the reason and to degrade the majesty of the free spirit of man, than dogmatic belief, dogmatic infidelity alone is baser. An agnostic does not deny the truth of any proposition, because he cannot see sufficient reason to accept it. He merely withholds his assent. From the intellectual and moral quicksand of positive denial, he steers clear. His attitude is essentially negative. To his view, the human race is enclosed, not in the cavern of Plato, with shadowy reflections of the ideal for its only realities, but in a space surrounded by an unscaleable wall and covered by an impenetrable canopy, with all that is real within, and with no present means or future prospect of attaining knowledge of that which is without. Thus, rightly understood, agnosticism directly contradicts no system of religious belief. Any of the religions of the peoples of the earth may be true. It is perfectly possible that all are true; that all honest faith will be realized. Within a boundless universe is boundless better, boundless worse. The good Christian may, after his death, find the reward of his devotion in a crown of gold, a palm-branch, and a harp; and may prolong a blissful eternity in singing psalms and forming one of a seraphic procession. While the bad Christian, the man

who professed the creed and believed its threats and promises without that saving faith which gives a title to a mansion in the sky, may meet with what he is bound to consider his deserts by lying transfixed through endless ages on a bed of burning fire, rained upon by unquenchable fire. The hour of dissolution may transport the pious Musalman to the paradise of his dreams; and in the enjoyment of the society of Húrís "ever fair and young" he may find an eternity well spent. The devout Buddhist, who has observed the spirit and the letter of the Law may find death a release from the misery, change, and transitoriness of life, and a passage to the sacred and mysterious rest of Nìbán; while his erring brother, who knew the good and sought it not may pass through other ills and learn by bitter experience the misery of existence before he attains the same blessed consummation. Why should not even the poor Indian's untutored mind be also a mirror of the truth, and his eternity be passed in a happy hunting-ground with his faithful dog to bear him company? And why should not our own Norse fathers, the sons of Thor and Odin, be at this moment in the enjoyment of Valhalla, drinking out of the skulls of their enemies and realizing to the full the sanguinary but congruous delights of which their earthly pleasures were but a faint shadow? Surely space is wide enough for each sect to have its peculiar heaven and hell, without infringing on the rights of others. These are but fancies. Yet, it would seem more reasonable to hold this doctrine as a fact than to vainly believe that, by the partial favour of an unjust Deity, a small section only of our race have attained absolute truth. Of no form of creed, it must be repeated emphatically, does the agnostic positively deny the truth. He but asserts that, for himself, he perceives no warrant to justify belief. This would seem to be a sufficeintly modest and peaceable frame of mind. Yet all the sects, from that headed by the honoured names of Francis Newman and Charles Voysey to those rendered illustrious by the virtues and intellectual splendours of Wesleys, Stanley, Ryle, Liddon, Pusey, and John Henry Newman, unite in waging persistent, I will not say bitter, war against the unpretending band of thinkers who stand, apart from all, but actively opposed to none. Suspension of judgment, a purely intellectual act, should not, one might think, be the subject of special animadversion; and the fact of a man's inability to yield his assent to propositions which do not commend themselves to his reason ought not to lay him open to reprobation. And yet even the Theist, who claims for himself the fullest exercise of the right of private judgment, hesitates to extend the same privilege to one who, with equal sincerity and earnestness, arrives, by the means which be himself uses, at different results. The Catholic, who

holds as sinful all exercise of the reason in respect to the supernatural, though, by his judgment he blasphemes the giver of his mental faculties, has perhaps some ground for his condemnation. But that men who, whether within or without the pale of the Christian Church, lay claim to the title of the Rationalist, should so condemn us, would be inconceivable, had not the verdict been so often pronounced. Beyond the desire of seeking and expounding what he holds to be the truth, no one can it would seem, have any particular object in declaring himself an agnostic. The motives are obvious which may induce a man to profess a religion which he has not troubled himself to examine, of the truth of which he is not assured. Arrogant self-assertion, morbid vanity, or empty bravado, even the childish and futile notion that the expression of disbelief will in some way alter an unpleasant fact, may prompt the profligate and frivolous to deny the immortality of the soul, and may urge the fool to repeat with his lips the assertion he has made in his heart that there is no God. But it is difficult to see which of these motives could have, weight to induce a man to humble the pride of intellect and confess that these things are beyond the scope of his faculties. The agnostic desires to try all things; and, after careful scurtiny and mature consideration, declares that he cannot find ground for fixing his faith in the dogmas of any theology. This does not, however, hinder him from being a man of exemplary life, and remarkable, as a jocular preacher said, after the return of a late exploring party, not like the North Pole, principally for its negation, but positively and actively as a power that makes for righteousness. In modern times, the most noticeable example of the agnostic condition of mind is John Stuart Mill, than whom, *pace* the *Church Times*, no saint in the calendar lived a more holy and actively virtuous life. Here we touch on the important question of the connection between faith and morality. The necessity for the consideration of this question is the justification of the article; and in the sequel I hope to shew some grounds for maintaining that belief in certain intellectual propositions is by no means essential to moral beauty of conversation; and that the religious sanction, althongh beyond doubt it has exercised a vast influence on ethics, has no necessary place in any rational system of morals. For the present, we may pass to a discussion of some of the more obvious bases on which agnosticism rests.

Three problems which have at all times engrossed the attention of thinkers are, the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the freedom of the will. A discussion of the last question would involve purely metaphysical considerations which are foreign to my present purpose. I shall therefore leave it

for a more convenient occasion; and shall take leave to make the implicit assumption, which will probably be granted, that as a matter of fact, whether the human will be free or not, the greater part of the human race act as if they were free to choose their own course, and will continue so to do, however often and however clearly the fallacy of the presumption of free volution may be demonstrated. The former two questions have usually been deemed inseparable; and a belief in the existence of God has been held to imply, of necessity, a belief in the immortality of the soul, and *vice versâ*. The reason of this is somewhat hard to understand. It would seem to be not more difficult to conceive that the Creator should, of His own will, or forced by the nature of the material with which He works, deny to man the gift of immortality, than to ancknowledge that, willingly, or unwillingly, He allows the existence of pain and evil, the countless inperfections of nature, the mournful waste of strength and beauty which pervades the world. Nor does there appear to be any difficulty in supposing that, if the universe be capable of existence without external aid, the continuance of that existence to infinite time, under the same or under varying conditions, might be equally possible. It will be convenient, therefore, to consider these questions separately. And in the first place, let us discuss the grounds of the belief in the existence and attributes of God. It is unnecessary to undertake a full disquistion in detail upon the nature and value of the evidence which is produced in support of this belief. It will be seen, on consideration, that whatever evidence can be advanced falls naturally under the heads of historical, depending on relevation; experimental, derived from the observation and study of national phenomena; and intentional the evidence presented by the mind itself. With the first head, we need have no concern. This wall has been already sufficiently battered; the breach has long been practicable. To others may be left the task of examining what has already been accomplished, and deciding what remains to be done in respect to the evidence from revelation. Half a century hence, the discussion of the comparative value of the various revelations which have been accepted among civilized nations may possibly retain a shade of antiquarian interest. The experimental testimony has been dispassionately weighed, certainly with no leaning towards undue severity, by J. S. Mill in the unrevised essay on Theism. More value than is there allowed to this evidence will probably be granted by no intelligent student. And if this value is deemed worth a struggle to retain, I have no wish to depreciate it. It is on the ground of the intentional testimony that the battle with the more advanced thinkers, who still cling to the belief in a God,

must be fought. And to this point, our attention must be directed. I pass the discussion of the question whether or not intuitive ideas exist at all. Let us assume that there are such ideas. That all men have an intuitive conception of even the bare existence of a Deity is an assertion of which the truth has never been demonstrated. By its very natures it is incapable of exact proof. If this instinct actually exists, it might be expected that their would be some resemblance between the ideas of God entertained by all men. These ideas might differ in a thousand details, in strength, in clearness, in intensity; as there are innumerable difference between the individuals of any class of things. But in every class, there are some essential attributes by which every individual member of it may be recognized; and we may fairly ask what is the class-mark which differentiates the members of the class of innate ideas of God, what is the point of contact between the Buddhist idea of "the power not our selves which makes for righteousness," and the idea of God as conceived in the mind of an American revivalist? Other arguments, of perhaps greater force, which it is unnecessary to repeat, have been urged against the doctrine of intuitive evidence. The root of the matter may be reached by a concise statement of the question in the form which it assumes when subjected to careful analysis. There are only two possible ways of explaining the existence of all things. Either the universe, such as we know it by our perception of natural phenomena is self-existent; or it is the work of a self-existent external power. The former explanation is given by the materialist and by the Pantheist; the latter, by the theist and by the polytheist. But though a man may honestly accept as true either of these accounts, careful consideration will shew that each hypothesis is equally inconceivable. Attempt to grasp the meaning of the assertion either that the world is self-existent, or that the Deity external to the universe is self-existent; press the argument to its logical conclusion; and it will be found that the mind is absolutely incapable of conceiving either idea. As well may we try to conceive the end or the beginning of space or of time. Inconceivability, it has been often and justly said, is no test of truth. Indeed, in this instance, we have two ideas, each inconceivable, one of which, as far as we can see, must image forth the truth. As far as our minds are capable of realizing the conditions of the problem, no third solution is possible. But when it is plainly seen that both the explanations offered are unthinkable, a man may perhaps be pardoned for declining to assert or formulate his belief in either. This statement of the question gives no basis for dogmatic atheism; it as little affords a standpoint for dogmatic

atheism. But cretainly, in the present state of our knowledge, it would seem to justify the refusal to yield assent to either proposition. This, as regards the belief in the existence of a deity is the final apology for Agnosticism.

But, even assuming for the sake of argument, that having reviewed the evidence, we feel in a position to affirm more or less positively our belief in the existence of a deity, if our belief is to be of any value, we must learn something of his attributes. The mere belief in the existence of a power external to the universe would not be cherished as a possession of great price. It will be admitted that we can only contemplate any thing as a collection of attributes. Of the mysterious something which underlies these, we know nothing; as far as we can see, the limitation of our faculties effectually prevents us from ever knowing anything. If we say we belive in the existence of God, we mean that we believe in the existence of something which possesses certain qualities. What means have we of knowing the attributes of God? The answer which has always been given to this question is that we must ascribe to God in an ideal degree, the highest attributes of his creatures. "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? and "he that made the eye, shall he not see?" It has been invariably held impossible to imagine the existence of virtues in men, and not to perceive that the creator of these virtues must possess them to an infinite extent. Few of those who have cared to accompany me thus far will hesitate to admit that all religions are, and have been, anthropomorphic in their conceptions of the Deity. One of the Hebrew Psalmists recognized this long ago; and it has become a commonplace of polemics to remark that all nations have imagined their God as an idealized abstraction of the highest virtues recognized by them. It is equally true, though perhaps not so immediately perceived, that it is impossible that this should be otherwise. By his very nature a man is precluded from conceiving attributes differing in kind from those of which he himself is or may be possessed. But according to every hypothesis, man is finite, the Deity infinite. Yet the qualities proper to the former are unhesitatingly ascribed to the latter, and by every sect God is fashioned in the image of man. The Deist abjures for himself all pretentions to knowledge or conception of the divine attributes; yet he addresses his God or Father, and believes that he is good, just, loving, and merciful. More than this, He may and must be; less or other than this he cannot be. If any meaning whatever attaches to these words, God must be conceived as good with human goodness, just with human justice, merciful with human mercy. The qualities are idealized, as the forms of their divinities were idealized by the Greeks, but they are, after all, but the

forms and qualities of man. The Calvinist is more consistent, in ascribing to God's justice and mercy the predestination of a large portion of the human race to pain, unmerited and eternal. He at least must be acquitted of the charge of using the terms in their ordinary signification. The sole objection is that in thus applying the terms, they are robbed of all meaning whatever. The Theistic view might be sustainable, perhaps, were we to hold that virtue is eternal and immutable, ideally existent and still the same though all living things were to perish. But the fallacy of the argument is at once exposed when we consider that all morality, as we know it, is relative. This is possibly a matter of opinion; and did space permit I would willingly discuss the question. An impartial consideration will, I think, sufficiently justify the view now expounded. Not a vice can be named which is not the conception of a virtue; not a virtue which may not become under certain conditions a vice. Every scheme of morals is no more than an extensive system of casuistry. Good and evil are relative terms, and have no meaning for us, except in relation to beings like ourselves. They can be used only of the conditioned; and to apply them to the unconditioned is a confusion of thought so obvious, that its hold upon powerful intellects is almost inexplicable. To attribute vice or virtue to an infinite Being is a contradiction in terms arising from an indolent habit of forbearing to thoroughly analyse our ideas, and to pursue our thoughts to their necessary conclusions. What is true of the relative may be absolutely false of the absolute; and acts which in respect to men are good and bad, to an infinite Being may be absolutely indifferent, neither moral nor immoral, but simply unmoral. Some faint glimmering of light in this darkness is perceptible in the fact that we do not now consider an earthquake, or lightning, or a cyclone as moral agents. It is possible, if any trust could be placed in the judgments of the human mind in such matters, I would say it is probable, that the attributes of the Deity, if Deity there be, differ from those of man not only in degree, but in kind. And if this be so, all speculation upon their nature must be fruitless. In whichever side may lie the probability, it is clear that in this matter there can be no certainty. And I fear that the mere belief in the existence of a god, of whose attributes and mode of being we have no certain knowledge, offers little promise of affording exercise for the religious faculties. The unknown is practically non-existent.

Next, we turn to the question of the immortality of the soul the continuation after death of life under conditions simila, to those of our present existence. Apart from revelation, this

belief is based solely upon internal evidences. Unless we are prepared to accept as true the accounts given of direct communication with the inhabitants of a world beyond the grave, the only reasons which we can have for belief in a continued existence are those supplied by our own intuitions. It is said, that there is an universal instinct which teaches that our life does not end when we leave this world—

> "Unsatisfied with our allotted span
> We crave a larger and a fairer room,
> This dreamer, this insatiate being, man,
> Finds all too narrow the enclosing tomb."

Even granting that there is such an instinct, it by no means follows, as John Mill has pointed out, that the idea implies a corresponding reality. But it may, I think, be shewn that this so-called instinct is not necessarily such, but rather a development of a not unnatural desire. Certainly, the writers of the Old Testament were not all believers in the doctrine of an after-life. Perhaps the strongest support for the belief to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures is a famous mistranslated passage in the Book of Job. Often the desire is strong; but not always. Some look forward to a prolonged life of activity; to others, the most blissful expectation is that in death.

> "The best of gifts is given,
> Even a little sleep."

Some base their hope on the imperfection of human knowledge, and the belief that somewhere and at some time, their craving after perfect wisdom may be realized. Others cling to human affections, and refuse to believe that those who have lived perfectly in this world must be for ever parted by the hand of death. Others, again, weary of beholding all the oppression done under the sun, heart-sick at the sight of the unmerited misery suffered by themselves or others, desparing of ever attaining on the earth the remotest approach to their ideal of justice, look forward to a future life wherein the crooked shall be made straight. Most of all, perhaps, regard the body as an incumbrance, and counting the soul a separate entity have some vague and unanalysed notion that it would be much better circumstanced, if relieved of "the earthly body and grievous growth of clay." All these are perhaps strong reasons for desiring a continuance of life; but they give no warrant for supposing that the desire will ever be gratified. It is possible that the body is a hindrance, and that when "the freed spirit bathes in wells of light" all "desires and dreams and hopes and aspirations" will be fulfilled. But it is equally possible, and, perhaps, to many minds more probable, that, even assuming

the separate existence of body and soul to be a fact, one is a necessary complement to the other; that each is by itself imperfect; and that only together do they constitute a perfect instrument. To this conclusion point the observed facts of physiology, as they present themselves to the mind of a layman. It would be a doleful awakening, should the soul arise from the sleep of death, and find that with the body had perished all its powers and faculties, and that there only remained a vague remembrance of vanished strength and a hopeless regret for past happiness. But, as a matter of fact, it is only with their lips that most men and women profess their belief in immortality. Were the belief a living instinct, it is impossible to conceive that there should be that hopeless grief or that speedy oblivion, which falls to the lot of all. A wife or lover is, conventionally at least, expected to remain true to one from whom she is parted by even the lapse of years; but should the separation be that of death, the bond is held to be broken and the survivor freed. Either the conception of love is gross and brutal, or the belief in a continued existence is a fancy. Possibly there is a little of both in the matter. By an ultimate analysis, the proofs of the immortality of the soul are resolved to this; that certain individuals have what they consider an instinct assuring them of a continued existence; and that certain, but not all others, for various reasons, are unwilling to believe that the present is the only life. Considering the ascertained facts of physiological science, which appear to point to the conclusion, but cannot be said to prove, that the mental faculties are inseparably linked with certain physical conditions, it will, perhaps, be safe to abstain from passing a definitive judgment on the question.

Assuming, then, that we have divested ourselves of all bias in these matters; that we have arrived at the conclusion, that the existence and attributes of God, the continuance or cessation of life after the dissolution of the body, are and must for the present remain perfectly open questions; we must now consider whether it therefore follows that we have lost all motive for moral action, all real distinction between good and evil, that, as the brilliant author of the 'New Republic' would have us believe, the barriers which separate vice from virtue must fall, and that life is no longer worth living. If this be indeed the case, then let us like the ancient philosophers do our best to bolster up the old superstitions, which no longer enslave our minds, but which serve to keep society together. Certainly, the first duty of every good citizen is to guard the well-being of the republic; and of the diffusion of truth is not only to rob life of all its sweetness but to reduce men to the condition of brutes, then, in the name of the unthankable God, let us do our best to disseminate salutary

falsehood. Stated in this barest manner, the unwelcome result seems inconceivable. We have all such reverence for Thee, that we can

"O truth, O lady peerless."

hardly bring our minds to believe it possible that there might be circumstances in which the cult of falsehood would be preferable. But we are not entiled to reject the supposition of the possibility of this result, on the ground of its inconceivability. That most, or even all, men believe that there is a virtue in truth for its own sake is not the slightest reason for assuming the belief to be well-grounded.

The question turns upon the eternal dispute as to the standard of right and wrong. If good and evil are absolute, and consist only in doing or opposing the will of the Creator, there might be some risk of losing all distinctions between them in asserting that we have so little knowledge of the will of God that we do not ever know for certain that He exsists, or whether He regards our actions from the same standpoint as that from which we regard them. But. as we have already assumed, good and evil are merely relative terms, It is undisputed that the standard of right and wrong has been and is still continually shifting ; the good of to-day has been the evil of to-morrow. The tests have been many and various. There is however, I think one formula which will be found to include whatever of useful and true is to be found in the moral standards of all ages and of all nations. The final test of the morality of an acton is whether its tendency is to loosen or to strengthen the bonds of society. It is needless to say that we must not have regard only to the apparent and immediate result of any particular act ; we must consider the general tendency of acts as a class. Keeping this point in view, we shall find that an act is moral in proportion as it serves to promote or preserve social health ; immoral, in proportion as it tends to produce or strengthen social disease. The Stoic formula :—"Live according to Nature" :—Kant's rule :—"So act that your rule of conduct may be taken as a rule of conduct by all rational being ;" the Utilitarian test :—"The greatest happiness of the greatest number ;" are all more or less imperfect expressions of the rule. But there is a law, wider and higher than all these, which includes them all :—"Act in obedience to the laws which govern social life." It will be found that all systems of morals have, consciously or unconsciously, been based on this principle however mistaken may have been its application. That there are certain states of society which are healthy, and certain others which are diseased is to use an imperfect simile, as certain as that there are healthy and unhealthy states of the body. The physical laws to which men must conform in order to preserve the soundness of the body are capable of being ascertained : they are gradually

being ascertained with an ever closer and closer approach to perfect knowledge, though it is possible that the last word on the subject is destined never to be uttered. These laws have their co-relatives in the laws which govern the conditions of the social state; and these too, are equally capable of ascertainment. Could we discover perfectly the nature, extent, and operation of these laws, we should have a perfect system of morals. That this will ever be attained is not probable. But even now we have an approximate knowledge of them, and each new discovery is a step in the perhaps infinite scale of the development of morals. To act in accordance with the requirements of these laws, or more accurately, to observe the conditions of social health is to act morally; to violate them is to act immorally. Every code of morality which has ever been formulated has been an effort, more or less conscious, to secure their observance. It must not be supposed that these conditions relate merely to the physical part of human nature; they regard equally the spiritual part. To avoid those prurient illustrations which find so much favour with a recent writer on this subject, the law of temperance is as binding on all men on account of the mental and spiritual as on account of the physical consequences of its violation.

We have next to consider the sanctions of this moral system. To classify them briefly, the ordinary sanctions of morality are, the religious sanction, including the unselfish dread of acting contrary to the will of a perfectly good and wise creator, and the selfish fear of offending one "who is strong enough to damn us" if He chooses; the political sanction, that is the fear of breaking the laws of the state and incurring consequent penalties; the sanction of public opinion, that is, the fear of doing anything of which those to whose decisions we defer would disapprove; and the physical sanction, the punishment imposed by the laws of nature on the body, not the soul, that sinneth. Of these aids and incentives to moral action we lose none but the first named. I am far from affecting to disparage or under-estimate the strength of the religious sanction. I know there are many who live a virtuous life, because they believe such a life to be in accordance with the will of a being whom they love, because He first loved them; and whom to grieve would be a cause of the deepest sorrow to them. I think it is also possible that fear of damnation may have some restraining influence on a few abject souls; though it would be absurd to accord the epithet "moral," to acts done under such an influence. But I see no reason why the social sanction, the solemn recognition, which will one day be instinctive, of the intimate connection which exists between all members of the human race, the conviction that every word and thought and deed

eternally affects the mighty mass of humanity of which each man forms an infinitesimal but all important part, should not furnish a perfectly efficient substitute for the religious sanction. If we can once convert into an instinct the consideration that every act, word or thought has a tendency to preserve or to destroy the social organism ; if we can attain a clear conception of the undoubted fact that the displacement of an atom modifies the conditions of the whole universe, that every action is as a stone cast into the sea, whose ripples spread throughout the ocean of space and eternity ; we may well dispense with the supernatural. It is the want of consideration of the effects of our actions upon the destinies of others which leads to the commission of most of the sins of men. When once man learns his true position in regard to his fellow-men, when he considers the incalculable effects of his misdeeds on the innocent, he will have an incentive to virtue far stronger than any that has yet been put forth. There are signs that the cultivation of the social instinct is proceeding ; we are daily acquiring a clearer conception of the unity of history, and social science is making rapid strides. Gradually the knowledge of social duties, the recognition of social laws, will spread and imperceptibly leaven the masses, until one day, after the lapse of generations, men will look back with astonishment at the time when what will have become platitudes were deemed subjects for argument.

And to those who fear that the transition stage may be one of anarchy and disorder, that the extinction of the religious feelings of mankind will be attended with deplorable results, before the social sense shall be sufficiently developed, it may be pointed out that the change cannot possibly be of the nature of a cataclysm. The world will not go to sleep one day with a peaceful belief in God and a future state, and awake next morning to the sudden knowledge that the old things have become new, that our conceptions of heaven and hell are like the baseless fabric of a vision ; and that the social organism is the only real entity. On the contrary, the change will be gradual. Infinite time is before us ; and the revolution of thought and feeling will beimperceptibly accomplished. The new knowledge is first received by the few ; and from them it passes to the many. Finally, it is formulated into a doctrine, and every one perceives that he has really believed it all his life. Nor is it any real objection that there will always be many, perhaps a large majority, who will refuse to be bound by considerations of social good, who will decline to submit to the mild yoke of the social sanction. This is no doubt true. But even now the majority of men are not swayed by considerations of abstract right and wrong ; most men do not shrink from evil for fear of grieving the Holy Spirit of God, nor do they even abstain from sin through dread of

the judgment to come. For such as will not be bound by the moral sanction, there will still remain the other sanctions which I have enumerated, the halter and the prison, the loss of the esteem of their neighbours, the ruin of their bodily health. The social will be the only true moral sanction ; but the other sanctions will ensure the safety of morals. More than this can be expected for no scheme of ethics. But we may reasonably hope that it will be an advantage and will tend to the promotion of virtue, to substitute for the ever-shifting standards which have hitherto been current, one standard, based on ascertained scientific facts, not immoveable but advancing according to fixed and eternal laws, and independent of the flux of individual opinion.

And will all the sweetness of life vanish with the old gods? Granted that the belief that there is a perfectly powerful, wise, and good Being controlling all earthly things, ordering the movements of the Universe, loving His children with a supreme love, and aiding them in all their struggles after holiness, is sweet, and noble and inspiring ; if we can find no warrant for this belief, is it not better and wiser at once to face the truth than to lap ourselves in a fool's paradise and be rudely awakened to the ghastly reality by some sudden flash of horror? Richter has shewn us, in painfully vivid words, the dismal gloom of the Universe deprived of God. But this gloom will be dispelled and the light of a new morning will break upon the world, when for the love and fear of an unknown God we substitute the love of our brothers whom we know, and for whom we can work with effect. Granted, again, that if we could be certain that a fresh existence will be given us after death, and that therein all men shall reap as they have sown, and all who have suffered injustice on earth shall receive compensation, many might find in this certainty a sharper stimulous to action, an additional happiness in human affections, a goal of endeavour which now they lack ; yet is it not better to look the facts fairly in the face and consider what remains if we find this belief changed for uncertainty ? If, while admitting the entire possibility of their real existence, we exclude from our minds the belief in God and the hope of immortality, there are still left to us all human loves ; all aspirations after wisdom, all strivings after moral perfection, all efforts for the good of others and for the advancement of the progress of our race, all pleasures of the senses, the imagination, the intellect, and the heart. Surely these things are not to be despised. It should rather add to the value of this life, as Mr. Ruskin has nobly pointed out, that all the work which a man shall ever have it in his power to do must be finished within this little span of years. It is a common place with the preachers that no man should bewail the narrowness of his opportunities for

doing good, his poverty, his insignificance, or his weakness, but should find his highest joy in doing his best. If the limitation imposed be not that of wealth or power, but of time, there should not therefore be the more reason to complain. We may wish that the work of perfecting the world should be completed in a generation; or that it had been perfect from the beginning. But this is not the method of Nature. She works by unchanging laws; and we slowly tend towards perfection but never attain it, because the scale is infinite. Millions of ages, countless generations, may perhaps be necessary for the attainment of a single height. Each individual life seems useless, yet each is all important. The aim of all moral action is the perfection of the race; and it is no small degree of happiness which may be enjoyed in working for this end. And there is no mean measure of nobility in taking no account of the fact that our efforts may be altogether forgotten, if we may only have the consciousness that they have not been thrown away.

> "Leave his heaven to whoso careth,
> Leave the palm, the crown of gold,
> If an age hence your seed beareth,
> Fruit a hundred-fold."

The thought that we are working in the great cause of humanity is a motive for moral conduct, in the widest sense of the words, higher than the selfish fear or hope of personal consequences, at least as high as the desire to do the will of an unknown God. I have no fear for the result when once the truth has taken root in all men's hearts. Nor can I conceive any limit, to the height to which mankind will attain when the strenuous aspiration after earthly perfection shall have become the guiding principle of human conduct.

B. N. C.

---

## ART. III.—SELECTIONS FROM THE INEDITED PROSE AND POETRY OF DEROZIO.

THE following selections have been made from all the Journals and Periodicals to which Derozio contributed. Much more of his work lies buried in these journals; some of it probably not worth reproducing; some of it certainly worth preserving. What is here reproduced is a sample of his best and his less successful efforts in prose and verse, from the age of sixteen, when he wrote the first canto of his hitherto unpublished "*Don Juanics*" from his uncle's indigo-plantation at Baughalpore, till the year of his death, five years afterwards.

The selections are arranged in the order of time; and dates and references are in every case given. Derozio wrote under the various *nom de plumes* of *Juvenis, East Indian, Leporello, Khusroo* and D; and his contributions are spread over so many publications, not by any means easily accessible—some of them altogether lost—so that the work implied in the memoir which appears in this *Review* for April and July 1881, and in these few selections, now for the first time brought together, though a pleasant, has not been a light task.

*The "India Gazette," Monday, December 26th,* 1825.

### DON JUANICS.

I.

'Twas evening; when the broad, red, weary sun
  Sinks slowly down beneath the western main,
When the poor toil-worn seaman's work is done,
  And little ripples the wide vessel cave,
When the long journey o'er the sea was run,
  And far from Oceans' billow, rock or cave
The ship lay safely moored in Hooghly's stream,
  All sparkling brightly in the setting beam.

II.

Soon followed night:—'tis so beneath these skies:
  (Long lingers twilight in a colder clime)
It is the hour when recollections rise
  Unchecked by sorrow, unimpared by time;
And o'er the pensive heart wild fancy flies
  Painting each pleasure past, and early crime,
Pausing as scenes of swiftly vanished years,
  When new alike were ecstacies and fears.

III.

'Twas then that Juan thought (for think we will
  When the blank soul has nothing else to do)
On fleeted days, but blooming freshly still,
  Nourished betimes with pure celestial dew,
And unforgotten forms his bosom fill,
  While memory holds their image to his view:—
Such thoughts will come wherever we may roam,
  And one will always point to *Home sweet Home!*

* * * *

"*India Gazette,*" *5th January* 1826.

## Don Juanics.

### XII.

Forgive me, reader! mine's a wandering muse,
And I am very young—not seventeen—
Spare the harsh censure, but do not refuse
My strains a smile, and it shall be the screen
To shelter me from foes—I would not lose
Th' applause sincere, though I despise the mean :
But your good sense will point out all no doubt ;
And now let's see what Juan is about.

### XIII.

The crimson cloud along the eastern sky
Had chas'd the lingering shades of night away,
And told the drowsy world, that morn was nigh,
Or bid their eyes upon the prospect stray ;
Ere long in splendid majesty on high
Uprose the golden God of glorious day;
And hearts as well as eyes, enjoyed the light
As if the sun were some uncommon sight.

### XIV.

They talked of nothing but their passage out
Of all the countless perils they had past,
Biscay's rough bay, Mauritius' dang'rous route
And Saugor sands not least, nor always last.
Hark! heard ye not the joy-inspiring shout
That leapt from bow to stern, from keel to mast!
"The boats!"—Now friend must bid adieu to friend,
As from the deck they're flocking to descend.

### XV.

The ladies kiss each other, and then cry,
Whisper, smile sadly, check the starting tear,
Then look most melancholy, they scarce know why,
Gentler in grief, more beautiful in fear!
But there are tongues that cannot say "Good-bye!"
And hearts that cannot part with things so dear—
*Their* will must not be done; for Fate will sever
Tendrils that cling for ever and for ever!

### XVI.

Now safe on shore, they saw and they were seen—
Some stared, amazed, and some were in a twitter :—
Juan cried "Coach!" but an uncouth machine
On four men's shoulders borne, was brought—a litter
That Momus in his mirth, called "Palankeen,"
Though the Bengali thinks "Palkee" much fitter.
'Twas noth'ng very intricate, 'tis true,
But Juan marvell'd what he was to do.

### XVII.

Go in—but how? legs foremost, or a straddle?
Both on one side, they'd surely dangle down :
Then sit across—it was too wide a saddle ;—
Not on the top, for then he might get *brown ;*

**Nor on the poles, for there he'd roll and waddle.**
**They show him how,—he points towards the town,**
**Is in, at last,—and as the seamen say,**
**Don Juan now was fairly under weigh.**

**XVIII.**

**How many a thought, his bosom now possess'd ?**
**The scene before him, was both new and strange;**
**All that was dear to his devoted breast,**
**All that he once had thought could never change,**
**All that had bless'd him, all that he had bless'd**
**Are now forsaken, and he's doom'd to range**
**A foreign land, without a guide or friend,**
**And all unconscious how his steps to bend.**

If Derozio ever continued or completed the *Don Juanics*, the remaining Cantos, so far as we know, have perished. The very existence of this Canto of LIV stanzas and of the succeeding selections are quite unknown to this generation; and have only been disentombed after considerable search amongst the journals of the early part of this century. From the first canto, it is easy to gather the purpose of Derozio, namely, to give a graphic picture of Calcutta Society. Young as Derozio was, there were few then living who could have produced so truthful and vivid a picture of English life in Calcutta, with all its extravagance, immorality, money-grubbing, ostentation and heroism, as the Eurasian boy who, at the age of eighteen, mingled in the best European Society of Calcutta, and who knew the weaknessess and the capabilities of men of his own blood, and was intimately acquainted with the habits, thoughts and feelings of Native Society. The unique position which he occupied, as a leader amongst Eurasians, as the trusted friend and adviser of the young native lads, who were casting off the traditionary incubus of centuries and struggling into clearer light, and as not the least ornament of a band of cultured Englishmen, all these gave him advantages for the writing of a great social epic, which had he completed, would have formed the best monument to his memory.

---

*Torn out leaves of a Scrap Book were written for the* (India Gazette) *and appeared at intervals extending over nearly a year: The first appeared on the* 17*th of July* 1826, *and was headed*

*For the "India Gazette,"* 17th *July* 1826, *beginning*

"Literature in India—promises." We quote the promises only.

"Promises should be cautiously made and faithfully performed. This is good advice and I still endeavour to abide by it. Well, then, what shall I promise to the public? That I shall be very

grave, and moralize till my fingers ache with scribbling, and my grey goose quill refuses to do its office? Nay, that will never do, for I cannot always be *very, very* grave; besides my vanity will not let me, for I would fain be read by the fair portion of our good city; and surely one sermon on Sunday morning is quite enough for a lady in a whole week. No, no, I am cut out for anything but the pulpit. Then shall I *poetize*, and indite verses without end? I would, if I could, but I don't know how it is that the muse and I have bid each other "a long adieu," for some time past, "verily Othello's occupation's gone!" Then shall I write tales of horror and hobgobblins, and all those things which make the hair stand on end, and alarm little children in the dark? No;—that will not do either, for many reasons and the chief of them is that a man who writes these things must first dream of them; and tc provoke dreams of such a nature, it is necessary for him to sup on raw pork (George Coleman the younger says so, and I believe it), but never having been guilty of eating pork aforesaid in state aforesaid, I must hoplessly exclaim "Ah! even tales of horror are not to be touched by me"—Well, then, back I come to the first question, What am I to do?—I will tear out every leaf as I have determined from my Scrap Book and send it for publication to the *India Gazette*, if the editor of that paper should think my lucubration, fancies, flights, &c., worthy of being entrusted to the imps of Pandemonium and eventually of being deposited in one of his columns.....But what am I to promise that they shall be? Know all men by these presents that I promise to furnish the readers of the *India Gazette* occasionally with a leaf or two from my Scrap Book and that the substance of such leaf or two shall not be half as long as this article; beyond this I promise nothing.

CALCUTTA: 17th *July* 1826.

---

*Here is the P. S. from the No. II. of the promised "Torn out Leaves." The subjects of No. II. were Chit Chat, Scandal, Tea Parties.*

Thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues, powers! What in the name of all things mighty in the infernal regions, what *have* you done? Are you aware of the sin, the awful sin that you have committed against typography of an unintelligible expression that you have printed as mine in last, or rather the first number of my Scrap Book? Look now to my Manuscript, and ye shall find that I wrote "Colonization is to benefit India beyond all *calculation;* turn ye thus to the *India Gazette* and see what ye have printed. "Colonization is to benefit India beyond all

*cultivation ! ! !"* Here is a perversion (of what ?) that I never anticipated. Now I must beg leave to inform your infernal worships, that how much soever you may prefer "cultivation" to "calculation," yet I would rather that ye had suffered the word to stand as I wrote it, ye do not suppose that readers in general are as sagacious as yourselves that they will understand "calculation" when they read "cultivation," and that they will in Christian charity suppose such things as misprints. If ye have ever entertained such notions, the sooner ye divest yourselves of them the better, both for your own sakes and those whose MSS. you "get up."

Pray, I beseech you, sweet spirits, do not now maliciously print this in such a manner, that it shall not be understood. Revenge not yourselves upon me. I own your power, I know you can make me appear mighty ridiculous; but I hope ye will act conformably to even the good faith of devils who do not *always* resent an injury, I have not very much reason certainly to complain of your treatment of subjects generally, and save the error alluded to above, I do not think there was another in the printing of the first or last number of my Scrap Book. There now I have tapped you on the back. You are all worthy spirits, now "go and sin no more."

*Calcutta July* 21st, 1826.

No. IV. of the torn out leaves was "*The Bridal,*" reproduced in his poems :—

## (ODES FROM THE PERSIAN OF HAFIZ).

### I.

صبح کل بستہ نقاب

Morn advances from her bowers
  Decked with blushing vernal flowers
Bring the morning draught divine
  Hither boy ! the wine ! the wine !

Dew drops trickle from the cheek
  Of the tulip, fair and sleek ;
Come, ye cheerful friends of mine,
  Hither bring the wine, the wine.

Gales of Eden gently blow,
  While our streams of ruby flow
Ever pour the draught divine,
  Wine for ever, sparkling wine.

See ye not the Bulbul's love
  Spreads her green throne in the grove ?
Then let liquid ruby shine,
  Hither boy ! the wine ! the wine !

Strange that at such joyous hour
Closed should be the banquet door
Must I here impatient wait ?
Open keeper ! ope the gate !

Ye who love ! Come, hasten here,
Drink the draught so pure and clear,
Ye, to whom high Wisdom's given !
Stay and offer vows to Heaven.

From a nymph of Paradise
On whose cheek enchantment lies,
Drink, like me, a draught divine :
Kines drink as sweet as wine.

*Calcutta, 1st August* 1827.

If the reader compares Sir William Jones' translation of the same ode, beginning "The morn advances vealed in roses," he will see in what respects they differ; and will probably prefer the rendering of Derozio. These odes are evidence that to his other acquirements the lad of eighteen had added some knowledge of Persian.

II.

That idol to my soul so dear
With jewels glistening on her ear
Hath but a heart of hardest stone
By which my senses all have flown.

O ! her looks are bright and warm,
And she hath a Peri-form
Like the lovely moon she glows
As her robe around her flows.

From her bosom's raging fire
I have caught young love's desire
My boiling breast with passion glows,
My boiling breast with love o'er flows.

Could I clasp within my arms
Her graceful form, her heavenly charms
Could I fold her, like her vest
How my heart would sink to rest !

When my name shall be forgot
And my very bones shall rot
Still my love shall live for ever
And my soul forget her never.

Gazing on her shoulders bare
Gazing on her bosom fair
From my lonely heart is driven
Every hope of bliss in heaven.

Cans't thou all these ills endure ?
Hafiz ! Hafiz ! seek a cure !
Haste that, haste away and sip
Her honied lip, her honied lip.

*Calcutta, 2nd August* 1827.

III.

I have felt love's fatal pain
Such—I cannot tell again
Absence poisons every bliss
Such as—ask not what it is.

I have roamed the world around,
And at last a treasure found,
One without, or blight or blame
One whom--ask me not to name.

O ! her feet my tears bedew,
Fast they fall, nor sweet nor few
O ! my tears impetuous flow,
So as—seek not now to know.

Yester night, from her I heard
Many a pleasing honied word
Words of rapture, but I pray
Ask me, ask me not to say.

Wherefore bite thy lip? O ! say
Did my tongue my heart betray?
Ruby lips I've pressed 'tis true,
Whose,—I will not tell to you.

Far from her in my lone cot
Sad has been my hapless lot;
I have felt, alas ! too well
Pangs which ask me not to tell.

I the ways of Love have known
All its secrets are my own,—
Shall I all those secrets state?
They're what—I can ne'er relate.

*Calcutta, 2nd September* 1827.

*"India Gazette," December 10th,* 1829.

## ON THE ABOLITION OF SATTEE.

*"The practice of Sattee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos is hereby declared illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts"*—Regulation XVII. 1829.

Red from his chambers came the morning sun
And frowned dark Ganges, on thy fatal shore,
Journeying on high ; but when the day was done
He set in smiles, to rise in blood no more,
Hark ! heard ye not ? the widow's wail is over ;
No more the flames from impious pyres ascend,
See Mercy now primeval peace restore,
While págans glad the arch ethereal rend,
For India hails at last, her father and her friend.

---

Back to its cavern ebbs the tide of crime,
There fettered, locked, and powerless it sleeps ;
And History bending o'er the page of time,
Where many a mournful record still she keeps,

The widowed Hindoo's fate no longer weeps ;
The priestly tyrant's cruel charm is broken,
And to his den alarmed the monster creeps ;
The charm that mars his mystic spell is broken,
O'er all the land 'tis spread : he trembles at the token.

---

Bentinck, be thine the everlasting mead !
The heart's full homage, still is virtue's claim,
And 'tis the good man's ever honoured deed
Which gives an immortality to fame :
Transcient and fierce, though dazzling is the flame
That glory lights upon the wastes of War :
Nations unborn shall venerate thy name,
A triumph than the conqueror's mightier far,
Thy memory shall be blessed as is the morning star.

---

He is the friend of man who breaks the seal
The despot custom sets in deed and thought,
He labours generously for human weal
Who holds the omnipotence of fear as naught ;
The winged mind will not to earth be brought,
'Twill sink to clay if it imprisoned be ;
For 'tis with high immortal longings fraught,
And these are dimmed or quenched eternally,
Until it feels the hand that sets its pinions free.

---

And woman hath endured, and still endures
Wrong, which her weakness and her woes should shield,
The slave and victim of the treacherous lures
Which wily arts, to man, the tyrant yield :
And *here* the sight of star, or flower, or field,
Or bird that journeys through the sunny air,
Or social bliss from woman has been sealed,
To her, the sky is dark the earth is bare,
And Heaven's most hallowed breath pronounced forbidden fare.

---

Nurtured in darkness, born to many woes
Words, the mind's instrument but ill supplied,
Delight, even as a name she scarcely knows,
And while an infant sold to be a bride,
To be a mother, her exalted pride,
And yet not her's, a mother's sigh or smile
Oft doomed in youth, to stern the icy tide
Of rude neglect, caused by some wonton's wile
And forced at last to grace her Lord's funereal pile.

---

Daughters of Europe ! by our Ganges side
Which wept and murmured as it flowed along
Have wives, yet virgins, nay, yet infants died,
While priestly fiends have yelled a dismal song
'Mid deafening clamours of the drum and gong :
And mothers on their pyres have seen the hands
Which clung around them when those hands were young,
Lighting around them such unholy brands
As demons kindle when they rave through hell in bands.

But with prophetic ken, dispelling fears
  Which haunt the mind that dwells on nature's plan
The Bard beholds through mists of coming years
  A rising spirit speaking peace to man
The storm is passing, and the Rainbow's span
  Stretcheth from North to South : the ebon car
Of darkness rolls away : the breezes fan
  The infant dawn, and morning's herald star
Comes trembling into day : O ! can the Sun be far ?

This is probably one of the noblest odes ever written by Derozio ; and there are ideas and aspirations in it which we doubt not will make a ready response in all who read it.

INDIA.

---

*"India Gazette," December 21st, 1829, reviewing the Bengal Annual for 1830.*

## (A DRAMATIC SCENE.)

FOLLOWER.

O' let me tell, but it will weary thee,
  For even the longest summer day were short
To paint her as she was, yet let me tell.
  Methinks all things her eye beam fell upon
Should have grown beautiful as do the clouds
  When kissed by the sun's plumage ; her white brow
Looked as 'twere washed with moonlight,—'twas so fair
  And then her tresses ! they were fatal toils
For hearts that beat too near them. Her red lip
  Might make the cheated world believe, that she
Had placed a severed ruby on her mouth ;—
  But then it teemed with life this made us learn
'Twas not an ocean gem. Her voice was sweet
  As is that gentle music which the breeze
Makes as it passeth o'er a moonlit stream ;
  Whene'er she waked the lute upon her lips
'Twas bliss to hear the magic notes she made ;
  And captured souls petitioned her to keep
Their hearing in such sweet imprisonment !
  Her form was graceful as the *Sunbal*, when
'Tis gemmed with twilight dim. She was yet young
  And sinless as the thoughts which infants form
In their first dreams of happiness. She loved,
  Not with that common feeling which the common world
Has consecrated with a holier name
  Than even it deserves. her's was passion
Free from all earthly dross kept in her breast
  With thoughts that lay like fountains underground
Pure and unsullied, even by Heaven's soft breath.

DEVOTEE.

Enough ; those sweets will cloy mine ear, and make
  My soul unfit for those blest offices
Which are so many lights that lead to heaven,
  Look where the God of Glory drives His car,
And journeys on to His appointed goal ;
  So let us to our labour both retire,

The following leader is a fair example of Derozio's prose style It will be seen from the context that he had ideas regarding the functions, of poetry and the mission of the poet which he was never able to put in practice.

"INDIA GAZETTE,"

*Friday, January 22nd,* 1830.

THE influence of poetry in refining and purifying the springs of life is confessedly great ; and that it should be made, what it is capable of being, an instrument for elevating and improving man's moral and intellectual nature is

"A Consummation dovoutly to be wished"

That it has been generally employed for so exalted and benevolent a purpose, is more than the most enthusiastic admirers and devotees of "the art unteachable, untaught" can take upon themselves to affirm. Few, indeed, who possess "the vision and the faculty divine," have unfolded to their fellow creatures those bright promises and prospects which intellectual and moral advancement will unquestionably realize ; few have laid bare those principles of human nature to the proper cultivation of which, all social happiness must be ultimately ascribed ; and few have advocated that independence of thought and action, which elevates man to the condition he should enjoy, and for which he was doubtless designed by nature. It may be said, that the province of the poet is to amuse, and that such as accomplish so much complete their proper ends. This, however, we question. Every thing is either good or evil, and its ultimate consequences must be considered in estimating its value. Much that affords immediate pleasure may be productive of remote but dreadful evil. And as thoughts and sentiments have a great influence in promoting good or evil, it becomes us to consider what they may effect on being promulgated. Appeals to the passions through the imagination should, therefore, be regulated according to the tendencies they possess of promoting general good or evil. False sentiment, enthusiasm misdirected, and base passions excited must lead to evil results, and the extent of their influence will be in proportion to the talent or ingenuity with which these sentiments are expressed, that enthusiasm directed, or those passions agitated. Is this sufficiently considered by poets ? Is not the great mass of what they write composed of false sentiments, subversive of much that is noble and exalted in human nature ? Is not that despondency with which too many of them may be charged, a great drawback from the buoyancy and elasticity with which life is invested and which they are so liable to deaden and destroy ? Is not that glory with which they

have encircled military achievements like a halo that consecrates and adorns them, an ornament bestowed upon objects unworthy of it? Is not all the softness and sweetness which they have ascribed to romance, too apt to mislead and bewilder the mind? Are not many of their longings and imaginings calculated to give us a disgust for the ordinary pursuits of life, and dispose us to disregard our condition to be indifferent to the realities of the present, and the prospects of the future? Too many, we fear, must plead guilty to these charges. We are not insensible to the truth of much that has been written by Milton, Shakespeare, Dante, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth and Campbell; but even in the writings of these great men, how many sentiments are to be found, which, in their general consequences, may be productive of more evil than good? Granting, however, that none such may be discovered in their works, can we not name a host, the greater portion of whose writings have the most direct tendency to degrade human nature, to beautify time-sanctioned fallacies, to give greater currency to erroneous opinions, and, in short, to retard the moral and intellectual advancement of human nature?

Let it not be understood from the general tenor of the preceeding remarks, that we are opposed to the cultivation of poetry. Let us not be charged with a heresy which we loath. On the contrary we wish to see a *radical reform* even among poets; and we hope that this age of investigation will direct its attention to a subject concerning which more false notions prevail than any other with which we are acquainted. Poetry cannot be destroyed; for it is the production of taste and imagination, and the expression of passion. It only indicates the existence of these, and while they exist, they will operate; and the result of their operation will be poetry and the fine arts. The hope that aspires to eradicate them from the human mind is impotent, and will fail; but that which endeavours to secure for them a proper direction needs only to persevere, and its object will be attained. The stream of poetic thought has generally flowed through poisonous channels, and they who have tasted its waters have also imbibed their corruption. Let it be the aim of the present age to open new springs; let the mind engage in voyages for the discovery of happiness; let the poet abandon war, misanthrophy, romance and false feeling, and let his enthusiasm be on that side which espouses man's best interest; let it be his object to improve, while he delights, and to promote the advancement of society, while he scatters flowers along its path; and he may rest assured that fame will not only await his steps but that he will attain a high rank among the best benefactors of mankind. Hearts that are now dead to the duties which they owe to society will

spring, starting at his call, and sympathizing with the world while they take a more active and just part in its concerns will melt

"At his command
Like Horeb's rock beneath the Prophet's hand."

---

## (BENGAL ANNUAL, FOR 1831.)

### *To the Students of the Hindu College.*

Expanding like the petals of young flowers
I watch the gentle opening of your minds
And the sweet loosening of the spell that binds
Your intellectual energies and powers
That stretch (like young birds in soft summer hours,)
Their wings to try their strength. O! how the winds
Of circumstance, and freshening April showers
Of early knowledge, and unnumbered kinds
Of new perceptions shed their influence;
And how you worship truth's omnipotence!
What joyance rains upon me, when I see
Fame in the miror of futurity,
Weaving the chaplets you have yet to gain,
And then I feel I have not lived in vain.

*"India Gazette," January* 1832.

### NIGHT.

Like our young dreams of fame, and hope, and love,
Bright, beautiful, but far above our reach,
Night's jewels sparkle in her coronet;
So dead a stillness fills the voiceless air,
That, if an angel should pass by the while,
Well would we hear the waving of his wing:
And feel the dew he scattered. The soft breeze
Which walks forth at this hour from grave to grave,
To fan the forest blossoms to repose,
Still slumbers in his cavern; and the Moon,
Pallid, and weary, wandering slowly on,
Comes, like a widow, sorrowing for her lord.

These verses appeared first, as the accompanying date shows, the month after his death, and may along with the lines "Independence" reproduced in the second part of the memoir (see *Calcutta Review* for July 1881,) be regarded as amongst the last he ever wrote.

The following Song appeared in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine* for 1833. Derozio died in December 1831.

---

## SONG.

*(To a Portuguese air.)*

BY THE LATE H. L. V. DEROZIO.

Her tears were streaming
  For joys departed,
No light was cheering
  The broken-harted
    Her weary breast,
    Still sought for rest,
    That could not be possessed.

And thoughts were coming
  (Of aught but gladness,)
Till worn with weeping
  She slept in sadness.
    Last watch she kept!
    Last tears she wept!
    But not last sleep she slept!

No hope is beaming
  Of change to-morrow,
While she is dreaming
  A dream of sorrow;
For grief, extreme
With love's the theme
  Of that delicious dream.

The blast was sweeping
  Across the ocean,
And forth she wandered
  To mark its motion
    Her bosom was bare,
    Unbraided her hair,
    Her look was wild despair.

She gazed in silence
  Upon the billow,
But now she's pressing
  A watery pillow!
    For soon she gave
    Unto the wave
    The life 'twas vain to save.

The following fragment of a translation appeared in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine* for 1833 (*see* page 519). A short notice of the translation and of Maupertius appeared in the Memoir of Derozio. Part II, published in the July Number of the *Calcutta Review,*

## ON MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

*(Translaled by the Late H. L. V. Derozio from the French of M. Maupertius.)*

### CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS HAPPINESS, AND WHAT IS MISERY.

I CALL *pleasure* all perception which the mind would rather prove, than not prove.

I call pain all perception which the mind would rather not prove, than prove.

All perception in which the mind would fix itself, the absence of which it does not desire, during which it would not pass into another state, nor be at rest—all such perception is a *pleasure.* The time during which such a perception lasts is a *happy moment.*

All perception which the mind would avoid, the absence of which it desires, during which it would pass into another state, or be at rest—all such perception is a pain. The time during which such a perception lasts is *an unhappy moment.*

I know not whether there are any perceptions which may be denominated *indifferent* perceptions, the absence or presence of which are perfectly alike to us. But if there be any such, it is evident that they cannot make any happy or unhappy moments.

In each happy or unhappy moment it is not enough to consider the duration: regard ought to be had to the greatness of the pleasure or pain. To that greatness I give the name of *intensity.* This intensity may be so great, that although the duration may be very short, a happy or unhappy moment shall be equal to another of which the duration is long and the intensity little. In the same way the duration may be so long, that although the intensity may be very little, a happy or unhappy moment shall be equal to another of which the intensity is great and the duration little.

We ought, therefore, in estimating happy or unhappy moments, not only to regard the duration but also the intensity of the pleasure or pain. A double intensity and single duration may make one moment equal to another, of which the intensity is single and the duration double. To express this generally, we should say, that in estimating happy or unhappy mements, they should be considered as *the product of the intensity of the pleasure or pain multiplied by the duration.* Such durations can be easily measured; we have instruments which measure them independently of devices which we can adopt. It is not so with these intensities. We cannot say whether the intensity of a pleasure or a pain is exactly double or triple the intensity of another pleasure or pain.

But although we have no exact measure for these intensities, we feel that some are greater than others; and we do not give up comparing them. Every man by a natural judgment (gauges?) the intensity and the duration in his confused estimation of happy or unhappy moments. Sometimes he prefers a little pleasure which continues for a length of time to a greater one which passes rapidly away; sometimes he prefers a very great but very short pleasure to a very little but very long one. This is also the case with pain.

Although very great, it may be so short as to be more cheerfully borne than a smaller one of longer duration : and it may be so small, that though of long duration, it may be preferred to a very short but very intense pain. Each person makes these comparisons as well as he can; and although their calculations may be different, it is not the less true that the just estimation of happy or unhappy ments is, as we have stated—the product of the intensity of the pleasure or pain, multiplied by the duration.

Good is a sum of happy moments.

Evil is a sum of unhappy moments.

It is evident that these sums to be equal should not occupy intervals of equal times. In that, where there is more of intensity, there should be less of duration; in that where the duration is great, the intensity should be little. These sums are the elements of happiness and misery.

*Happiness* is the sum of good that remains after deducting the evil. *Misery* is the sum of evil that remains after deducting the good.

Happiness and misery then depend on the compensation of good and evil. The happiest man is not always he who has had the greatest sum of good. The evils which he has encountered in the course of his life have diminished his happiness; and their sum may have been so great as to have diminished his happiness more than the sum of good has increased it. The happiest man is he to whom the greatest sum of good remains after having deducted the sum of evils. If the sum of good and that of evil be equal, we cannot call him, to whom such a lot has been assigned either a happy or an unhappy man. His life goes for nothing. If the sum of evil exceed that of good, he is unhappy in a greater or less degree. His life does not go for nothing. Thus, it is not until we have made this last calculation, until a balance is struck between the sums of good and evil, that we can judge of happiness or misery.

Good and evil being the elements of happiness and misery, all one's care ought to be employed in obtaining a correct knowledge of them, to compare the one class with the other—and finally always to make choice of the greatest good, and to avoid the greatest evil. But many difficulties beset this comparison : and each individual makes it in his own way.

One, for the enjoyment of a few voluptuous moments, loses his health or destroys his fortune, another refuses the most lively pleasures to obtain a treasure which he will never enjoy. This one languishes under the protracted agonies of the stone; that suffers the most cruel pain to be delivered from it.

And although good and evil appear to be very different *species,*

we still compare those which appear the most heterogenous with each other. Thus it was that Scipio found more good in a generous action than in all the pleasure which he could have enjoyed with his captive.

What adds to the difficulty of the comparison of good and evil, is the different *distances* whence they are viewed. If we compare a remote with a present good, or a present with a remote evil, rarely shall we make a just comparison. This inequality of distance, however, causes difficulty only in practice. For the future, which is apparently at our door, when age and health are taken into consideration, ought to be regarded as near, at least, as the present. There is yet another more difficult comparison, and one that is not less necessary; it is that of good with evil. I mean here, the estimation of evil which ought reasonably to be suffered that it may be compensated by such or such good, or the estimation of good, of which we ought to deprive ourselves to avoid such or such a evil. Although this comparison cannot always be correctly made, there is an infinite number of cases in which we feel it advantageous to suffer an evil to enjoy a good, or to abandon a good to avoid an evil. When good and evil are viewed at different distances the comparison becomes still more difficult.

It is in making all these comparisons that prudence consists. It is owing to their difficulty that few prudent persons are to be found; and we ascribe the infinite variety of human conduct to the different ways in which these calculations are made.

## CHAPTER II.

### IN ORDINARY LIFE THE SUM OF EVIL EXCEEDS THAT OF GOOD.

We have defined *pleasure* to be all perception, which the mind would rather prove than not prove; all perception in which it would fix itself; during which it would not pass into another state nor be at rest. We have defined pain to be all perception which the mind would rather not prove than prove, all perception, which it would avoid; during which it would pass into another state, or be at rest.

If life be examined according to these ideas, we shall be surprised, nay frightened, to find it full of pains, how barren of pleasures. How rare are those perceptions in the presence of which the mind delights? What is life, but a continual wish to change its perceptions? It is passed in desires; and we would annihilate all the interval which separates us from their accomplishment. Often would we have days, months, and whole years suppressed; and we never acquire any good, without paying for it with our lives.

If God accomplished our desires, and suppressed for us all the time, which we would have suppressed, the old man would be surprised to see the little that he would have lived; perhaps the duration of the longest life would be reduced to a few hours.

Now all that time the suppression of which we would wish for, in order to pass to the accomplishment of our desires that is to pass from some perceptions to others—all that time is composed of unhappy moments.

There are few men, I think, who do not agree, that their lives have been more full of such moments than of happy ones, when they consider nothing more in these moments than their *duration;* but if regard were paid to their intensity the sum of evil would be much more increased, and the proposition, that *in ordinary life the sum of evil exceeds the sum of good,* would become more true.

All the amusements of men prove the misery of their condition. It is only to avoid painful perception, that one plays at chess, and another follows the chase: all seek forgetfulness of themselves in serious or frivolous occupations. Nor do these suffice; they have recourse to other resources: some by means of liquors excite a tumult in their minds, during which it loses the idea that torments it: others by the fumes of the leaves of a plant seek a giddiness for their cares; others charm their pains by a juice which throws them into a species of ecstacy. In Europe, Asia, Africa and America, all men, though ever so different, have sought remedies for the evils of life.

Were the enquiry made, we should find very few, from whatever condition they might be taken, who would recommence life, as it has been, who would repass through all the states in which it has been. Would not this be the pleasant avowal, that there is more evil than good in life.

Is this, then, the fate of human nature? Is it irrecoverably condemned to so severe a doom, or are there any means to change this proportion between good and evil. Is it not from the little use, or rather the bad use, which man makes of his reason, that makes this proportion so fatal? Would not a happier life be the reward of his reflections and his exertions?

## CHAPTER III.

### REFLECTIONS ON THE NATURE OF PLEASURES AND PAINS.

Philosophers of all times have known the importance of seeking happiness, and have made it their principal study. If they have not found the proper road which leads to it, they have travelled along paths by which it may be approached. In comparing their

discoveries in other sciences with the excellent precepts which they have left us by which we may become happy, it will surprise us to see the greater progress that has been made in this science than in every other.

I shall not enter into a detail of the opinions entertained by all those great men regarding happiness; nor shall I point out the particular differences which prevail in the sentiments of those who in general matters belonged to the same sect: such a discussion could be nothing more than a long difficult, uncertain, and positively useless kind of history.

Some regarding the body as the sole instrument of happiness and misery, know of no pleasures but those which depend upon impressions made by external objects upon our senses, and of no pains, but those which depend upon similar impression.

Others again ascribing too much to the mind, admit of no pleasures or pains, but those which it finds in itself.

These opinions are extravagant, and equally remote from the the truth. Impressions made by external objects on the body are sources of pleasure and pain; and so are the operations of the mind, and although all these pleasures and pains may enter through different passages, they have this in common, that they are perceptions of the mind, with which it is pleased or displeased, and which make happy or unhappy moments.

Let us not then be alarmed, about comparing the pleasures of sense with the most intellectual pleasures; let us not create an illusory belief that there may be some pleasures of a less noble nature than others. The noblest pleasures are those which are the greatest.

Some philosophers go so far as to regard the body as altogether foreign to ourselves, and pretend that we could even bring ourselves not to feel the accidents to which it is subject.

Others would not deceive themselves less were they to believe that the impressions made by external objects on the body could so occupy the mind as to render it insensible to its reflections.

All pleasures and pains belong to the mind.

---

*"The Orient Pearl" for* 1854.

TO MY FRIEND UPON HIS MARRIAGE.

Now all that's good betide thee,
All joys of wedded love!
To her who sits beside thee
All blessings from above.

On life's eternal ocean,
As hand-and-hand ye go,
Still gentle be its motion,
And musical its flow.

**May every star shine o'er you,**
**With beams e'en doubly bright**
**To brighten all before you,**
**And cheer life's dreary night.**

**The winds their music bring you,**
**At the silent fall of even ;**
**Their hymns let angels sing you**
**As they watch the gates of heaven !**

**May the flowers bloom around you**
**With a rich unfading bloom,**
**As the potent spell has bound you**
**Of their delicate perfume !**

**Then all that's good betide you,**
**All joys of wedded love !**
**To her who sits beside thee**
**All blessings from above !**

The friend for whom these lines were written was Derozio's old school-fellow, and life-long friend Mr. W. Kirkpatrick. The verses in themselves have no interest beyond the fact. They are much below the average of his writings and are more creditable to his heart than his powers as a poet. The *Orient Pearl* was the successor of the *Bengal Annual ;* and its contributors were H. M. Parker, J. W. Ricketts, Calder Campbell, Lieut. Macgregor, M. Crow, Kasiprasad Ghose, M. W. Wollaston, R. Smith, C. T. Muller, H. Andrews, and others.

THOMAS EDWARDS.

---

## ART. IV.—THE ABORIGINAL ELEMENT IN THE POPULATION OF BENGAL.

1. *Report on the Census of Bengal*, 1872.—By H. Beverley.
2. *Annals of Rural Bengal.*—By W. W. Hunter, L.L.D.

THERE is no study more interesting alike for the philosopher and the antiquarian than the caste-system of India. It is an institution which belongs to the world's past history, to remote ages and archaic life; but in India it is a living system, powerful in its character, universal in its influence. Elsewhere the historian tries to trace it from imperfect materials and doubtful evidences, just as he tries to describe polyandry and other institutions of the remote past; in India the administrator of the present day finds it a living and powerful institution, he meets it at every turn and in every aspect of life, and has to make allowance for it in his dealings with the people.

The origin of this remarkable system was for a long time involved in mystery, and the reasons are not far to seek. The members of the highest caste, who were naturally interested in making the system perpetual, ascribed to it a divine origin and so kept its historical growth and development concealed from view. They had the making of the nation's literature and they made it as they willed. It was stated that the four original castes had sprung from different portions of the body of Brahma, or the Deity, and that the union of the men of some of these original castes with the women of some other produced the modern castes of India. The institutes of Manu give a long account of the origin of the modern castes of India from such admixture of the original castes and the majority even among the educated people of India still believe in Manu's childish account of the multiplication of castes.

Patient research and accurate scholarship in Sanscrit have, however, cleared up the mystery. The highest authorities on the subject like Max Müller and the late Dr. Muir agree in holding that the caste system had a historical growth and development in India; and the development can be traced. Antiquarians agree in stating that the earliest literature of the Hindus bears no trace of the caste system, and that the system was unknown to the Hindus who composed the *Mantras* of the Rig Veda. There was no separate class of priests or of warriors, none of traders or of

slaves. Fathers of families worshipped their gods in their own homes or under the open sky, and young men went out to battle when there was occasion. Rich men sometimes kept in their pay persons to perform for them, the rites of worship, but a separate caste of priests was as entirely unknown as a separate caste of warriors.

In course of time the early Hindus lost much of the original simplicity in their worship and their manners. Religious rites became more complicated, and a professional class of priests (who alone could perform such elaborate rites) then arose and soon formed themselves into a separate body or caste. Kings and chiefs and soldiers soon formed themselves into a separate caste, that would not mix with the mass of the cultivators and traders who formed the third caste or section of the body politic. The aborigines who had been conquered by the Aryans and were treated as slaves formed the fourth and last caste. Such was the historical origin of the four original castes of India, the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras. This division into castes took place long after the Aryans had come into India, and long after they had composed the beautiful *Mantras* of the Rig Veda which are the earliest literary records in the world.

It will probably help us to imagine how this division took place if we reflect on similar events and institutions in European history. Modern European life with its constant movement and rapid effacement of all social landmarks furnishes us with no parallel, but the history of Mediæval Europe will probably help us to some extent. The distinction between the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas was scarcely more marked than that between the proud knights of the Feudal times and the humble burghers, while between Vaisyas and the vile Sudras there was no wider line of demarcation than that which existed between prosperous, though humble burghers of Italy, of Flanders, or of Languedoc, and the miserable slaves and *colonii* who tilled the land on the Continent. Lastly, the clergy of the middle ages with their persistent attempts at wresting supreme power from the crowned Kshatriyas of Europe, their monopoly of all learning and knowledge, and their fabrication of innumerable legends conducive to their own interests not unduly represented the Brahmanical class and the Brahmanical spirit in Europe. In England the lowest classes had too much freedom, and the barons and the clergy had had too little of absolute despotic power to bear any resemblance to the castes of India; but whoever has studied continental history with attention will not fail to perceive in the clergy, the nobility, the burghers and the enslaved agriculturists of France or of Germany, a reproduction, at least in the main outlines, of the original four classes of India.

And now let us imagine the line of demaration between the social classes in Mediœval Europe to be inviolable. Let us suppose that the Squire could not after some years of apprenticeship rise to be a knight, that the layity could not enter into the ranks of the clergy, and that the slaves and *colonii* could not come to towns, or change their status. Let us consider all the four orders absolutely hereditary, and we have the four castes of India transplanted to Mediæval Europe. The consequences would be a more active hostility between the nobility and the clergy, and a slow demoralization of all classes because hereditary. The clergy would be more jealous of their hereditary privileges and learning, would multiply legends and literary forgeries, and would aim at supreme political power; the nobility would, with the progress of civilization, scoff at clerical learning and attain knowledge of a more liberal and useful character; the mass of the people would remain in gross ignorance under the double oppression of a hereditary priesthood and an absolutely hereditary nobility; and each class would lose vitality and undergo a slow degeneration from want of fresh blood, from want of healthy intermixture, and from exclusiveness and hereditary prejudices. In one word the consequences would be what they have been in India.

But happily for the civilization of Europe the demaration between the different sections of the community never became inviolable. The clergy who lived in celibacy replenished their ranks from among the ablest and shrewdest members of the lay community, even as the nobility welcomed to their ranks the boldest and ablest. There was no inviolable gulf between the different sections of the community, the distinctions which existed gradually became weaker and weaker, until under the influence of modern civilization the different "castes" of the Mediæval times merged their differences and combined themselves into strong united nationalities.

We have one word more to say about the two lower castes of Mediæval Europe, the free burghers and the enslaved cultivators. Slavery died a natural death in Europe with the advance of civilization, the restrictions placed on the cultivators of the soil disappeared one by one, and with them disappeared the sharp distinction between the free burghers and the enslaved cultivators. In modern Europe we miss these two well defined classes of whom we read in every reliable account of the middle ages, and in their places we find members of different professions, merchants, petty traders, peasant proprietors, labourers,—all equally free. Bondage has disappeared, the Sudras of Europe have mixed themselves up with the Vaisyas or free burghers, and the united community has split itself into different trades and professions, all equally free.

And this is exactly the way in which the numerous castes of modern India have arisen.

When the Greeks came into India in the fourth and third centuries before Christ the original division into four castes had already been altered, and what is still more remarkable there was no enslaved caste in India. Beside the Brahmans whom the Greeks found as religious men or Government officers or as spies, and the Kshatriyas whom the Greeks describe as the warrior caste, they found the mass of the people divided into three sections, *viz.*, shepherds, agriculturists and artizans. All were equally free, and Arian distinctly mentions the fact that there was no slavery in India. It is apparent, therefore, that the original Sudras had mixed themselves up with the Vaisyas, and the united community had split themselves into a large number of professions which Manu describes as "mixed castes," and which the Greeks group under the three great heads of shepherds, agriculturists and artizans. Manu, indeed, still speaks of Vaisyas and Sudras as distinguished from the mixed castes, and it is possible, that down to his day portions of these communities had still remained pure ; but the large number of mixed castes whom Manu describes as engaged in different industries, trades, and professions can be no other than the great mass of the primitive Vaisyas and Sudras who had taken to different professions with the advance of civilisation, and had therefore assumed new names according to the professions they followed.

The position then that we take up is this:—That Manu's account of the origin of the numerous modern castes in India (*i.e.*, from the union of members of different castes, *e.g.*, of a Brahman with a Kshatriya woman or of a Vaisya with a Brahman woman, &c.,) is as unreal as it is childish and fantastic; that with the spread of Aryan conquest over Northern India the mass of the aborigines who were subjugated and were at first treated as Sudras, or slaves, came to form a portion of the Hindu nation; that they as well as the mass of the Aryan conquerors—the Vaisyas—split themselves up into different trades and professions with the advance of civilization and the division of labour ; and that they assumed new names according to the professions which they embraced, and formed new castes.

This account of the formation of the numerous castes of modern India is so apparently true, and is so well-supported by evidence. that it was scarcely necessary to adduce arguments in its favour Nevertheless we have taken the trouble to describe the process at some length for an important reason. The process, which we may briefly describe as the assimilation of the aborigines with the Aryans, and the splitting of the united community into numerous professions according to the exigencies of modern civilisation,—is

one which is going on to the present day, and which every careful observer in India will notice on every side of him. Aborigines are fast entering within the pale of Hinduism to the present day; some are entering within the limits of the recognised castes, while others are forming new castes at the lower end of the ladder. Aboriginal warriors have assumed the name of Kshatriyas and have been allowed that proud name; while aboriginal priests are up to the present day assuming the name of Brahmans, as one by one their tribes enter within the pale of Hinduism. The history of religions presents us no stranger phenomenon than the tacit process of proselytism by which Hinduism is absorbing within itself millions of the less civilised tribes of India.

There are numerous instances of aborigines who have entered, or are entering, within the pale of Hinduism, and have assumed their place in recognized Hindu castes; and the only difficulty one experiences is in making a proper selection. It is necessary here to present only a few remarkable instances, and that we may do so with some sort of order, we must begin with the highest caste.

It is not generally known to Europeans, that among the recognized Hindu castes there are some which are classed as *Nabasák*, or pure, and there are others which are considered as not so. Beside the Kayests and Vaidyas who form the highest castes next to the Brahmans, the Kamar and Kumar, the Teli and Tamuli, the Kansari and Sankari, the Tanti, the Napit, the Sadgop, the Moyra, the Gandhabanya, and many others are considered as pure. Kayests and Brahmans will drink water carried by people of these castes, and the same Brahmans who perform religious offices for Kayests will perform similar offices for these pure castes without degradation. On the other hand, there are other castes like the Sonarbanya, the Sekara, the Chutar, the Kolu, the Goala, the Dhopa, the Suri, the Kaibarta, &c., which are considered impure. High caste men will not drink water touched by these people, and the Brahmans who preside at the religious and social ceremonies of Kayests and Vaidyas will not perform such offices for these castes. The consequence is that each of these castes have Brahmans of their own, and these Goala Brahmans, Kaibarta Brahmans, &c., perform the religious ceremonies for the people of those castes, respectively. These Brahmans are called Barna Brahmans, or caste Brahmans, *i.e.*, Brahmans belonging to particular castes.

Who are these Barna Brahmans? Are they pure Brahmans who have been degraded because they have performed religious offices for the so-called impure castes? This may possibly be the case with the Sonarbanyas who are rich enough to bribe pure Brahmans to descend from their status and become Banya-Brahmans. But what shall we say of the Kaibarta Brahmans, for

instance? Are they not the aboriginal priests who used to minister to the religious wants of the Kaibarta tribe, when it was an aboriginal tribe, and who have now assumed the name of Brahmans because the tribe has entered within the pale of Hinduism?

Let us look around us for facts which will enable us to answer this question. Let us consider the case of those aborigines who have not yet been completely Hinduized, but who have nevertheless become so far Hindus as to require the services of Brahmans. The Chandals and Bagdis of Bengal are not recognised as Hindus, but they are Hinduized to a sufficient degree to require Brahmans to preside at their social and religious ceremonies. And who are the Brahmans who minister to their religious wants? Not the high caste Brahmans, nor even the Barna-Brahmans, but members of their own community, their own aboriginal priests whom they call their Brahmans. And when these semi-Hinduized castes will be completely Hinduized in the course of centuries, perhaps of thousands of years, their priests will claim the rank of regular Brahmans and will pretend to pure and unbroken descent from the proud Brahmans described by Manu.

One remarkable instance which came under our personal observation deserves a passing mention. The population of eastern districts, like Backergunj and Noakhali, consists mostly of Mahommedans, and the proportion of Mahommedans is perhaps even larger in the sub-Division of Dakkhin Shabbazpur than in other parts of Backergunj district. Indeed, in this sub-Division there is hardly a single resident family of high caste Hindus; those who come here for business or trade or as Government servants have their homes elsewhere and leave the island as often and as fast as they can. There are some low caste Hindus, however, and there is one remarkable tribe of semi-Hinduized aborigines who are called Dás. These semi-aboriginal Dáses must not be confounded with Hindu Dáses like the Kaibartas. In their manners, as in their speech, the semi-aboriginal Dáses of Dakkhin Shabbazpur betray their origin, no Hindu Brahmans will minister to their wants, and no recognised Hindu castes will mix with them. They form a community of their own, and possess some of the most estimable virtues of an industrious and peaceful community. Even the Musalmans of the island praise their truthfulness and their faithfulness, they never figure in any rioting or affray, and they are as industrious as they are obedient and peaceful. There are no more patient hewers of the wood and clearers of the jungle than they, and the primeval woods which still fringe the southern shores of the island are fast disappearing under the axe of this industrious race. At first a few trees are cut and a tank is excavated in the

bosom of the forest,—year after year, lands on all sides of the tank are reclaimed, and in a few years a large area of finely cultivated land smiles in the midst of waste and jungle. We have often had occasion to visit the commencement of such peaceful and useful labours, and few scenes can be more pleasant to the eye or more interesting to the mind than the solitary tank, the few smiling acres of cultivated land, and the humble huts of one or two Dás families in the bosom of solitude and primeval jungle. The people of the island speak of the *Dás* and the *Bhais* (buffaloe) together, as possessing the same kind of patient energy and uncomplaining, untiring industry.

It is interesting to watch how fast this aboriginal race is assuming Hindu religion and civilisation. The Dáses have priests of their own who are called Dás Brahmans, who celebrate social and religious rites much after the fashion of Hindu Brahmans. We see in them the very process by which members of the aboriginal races enter within the pale of the Hindu priest-caste and assume the proud name of Brahmans. A few centuries hence, and the Dáses of Backergunj will be a recognized Hindu caste, and their priests will be recognised as Brahmans by the Hindu community.

Instances could be multiplied without limit, of this process of Brahman-manufacture (if we are allowed the somewhat irreverent expression !) which is going on among many semi-aboriginal castes in all parts of Bengal. What we have stated, however, will suffice to show that aboriginal blood enters largely in the existing Brahman community of Bengal. The process described above must have been in operation since the first advent of Hindu civilisation and religion in Bengal, and it is impossible to say what proportion out of the million of Bengal Brahmans (not including Behar and Orissa, *vide* Census Report of 1872) are of pure aboriginal descent, and what number are of mixed blood. We do not know if the high caste Brahmans, *i.e.*, the Brahmans of the Kayests and Vaidyas, &c., can claim pure descent from the Aryan Brahmans of Northern India. They pretend to have descended from the five pure Brahmans who came from Canouj to Bengal about a thousand years ago. The claim, we need hardly say, is very theoretical, and the five men if they lived again would be astonished to see the vast number of Brahmans who claim descent from them !

There is still clearer evidence that the Kshatriyas of Bengal have largely replenished their ranks from the aboriginal races. In no part of Bengal, probably, have the Kshatriyas a more glorious history than in Bankura district. The ancient Rajas of Bissenpur trace back their history to a time when Hindus were still reigning in Delhi, and the name of Musalmans was not yet heard in India. Indeed, they could already count five centuries of rule

over the western frontier tracts of Bengal before Bakhtiar Khilji wrested that province from Hindus. The Musalman conquest of Bengal, however, made no difference to the Bissenpur princes. Protected by rapid currents like the Damudar, by extensive tracts of scrub-wood and sâl jungle, as well as by strong forts like that of Bissenpur, these jungle kings were little known to the Musalman rulers of the more fertile portions of Bengal, and were never interfered with. For long centuries, therefore, the kings of Bissenpur were supreme within their extensive territories. At a later period of Musalman rule, and when the Mogul power extended and consolidated itself on all sides, a Mogul army sometimes made its appearance near Bissenpur with claims of tribute, and tribute was probably sometimes paid. Nevertheless the Subadars of Murshedabad never had that firm hold over the Rajas of Bissenpur which they had over the closer and more recent Rajships of Burdwan and Birbhum.* As the Burdwan Raj grew in power, the Bissenpur family fell into decay; Maharaja Kirti Chand of Burdwan attacked the Bissenpur Raj and added to his zemindari large slices of his neighbour's territories. The Mahrattas completed the ruin of the Bissenpur house which is an impoverished zemindari in the present day. Government has graciously granted a pension to the present Zemindar, while the Zemindar's brother (a most pleasant and estimable gentleman) holds the humble post of a sub-Registrar in his own ancient fort which is magnificent even in its ruins.

This ancient and renowned family is of course a Kshatriya family, and some thousands of people living in all parts of Bankura district, and who are descended from the old servants or retainers, soldiers or relations of the Bissenpur Rajas, are Kshatriyas † also by caste. It is worth while examining how far they can claim descent from the Kshatriyas of ancient India.

The Rajas of Bissenpur claimed descent from the Rajput kings of Jainagar near Brindaban in Northern India. And as the Rajput kings of Northern India claimed descent from the ancient Kshatriyas, the Rajas of Bissenpur claimed descent from the same stock. To this reasoning,— thus categorically put, we will reply categorically that the Rajputs of Northern India were not descended from the ancient Kshatriyas of India, and secondly, that the Rajas of Bissenpur were not descended from the Rajputs of Northern India.

---

* Bahadur Khan or Ranmash Khan founded the Musalman Raj family of Birbhum in 1600 A. D., while Abu Rai, the founder of the Kshatriya Raj family of Burdwan, was a Kotwal of that town in 1657 A. D. The Bissenpur Raj dates from 715 A. D.

† They pronounce the word as *Chhatri*, and often call themselves Rajputs.

The Rajputs came into India long after the original division into four castes took place. It is probable that they came from Scythia or some other part of Central Asia as late as the first century before Christ. They cleared their way, sword in hand into India, and settled down in the deserts and hills of Rajputana, because those barren tracts had not yet been colonized by the Hindus, and the new comers easily subdued the Bheels and other aboriginal tribes. It was scarcely possible for the new comers to live long in India without assuming the Hindu religion and civilization, and as the Rajputs were a martial race, they at once assumed their rank among the Kshatriyas of India. A few centuries after Christ, when most of the old Kshatriya kings in India had either embraced Buddhism or had degenerated, the new Kshatriyas of Rajputana, sent out colonies on all sides and founded new kingdoms in all parts of India. As new converts to Hinduism they had more faith in it than the old Kshatriya kings who had mostly embraced Buddhism; wherever Rajput established new kingdoms Hinduism was re-established in place of Buddhism, and Brahmans were only too glad to avail themselves of the assistance of these new allies in establishing their old supremacy.* In the ninth and tenth centuries after Christ most of the powerful kings in India were Rajputs. India has seen no braver or nobler Kshatriyas than the Chohans of Delhi, the Rathores of Canouj and Marwar or the "Solar race" of Mewar; but nevertheless these gallant tribes were Kshatriyas by bravery and nobility, not by their descent from the ancient Kshatriyas of India.

It is easy again to shew that the Rajput-Kshatriyas of Bissenpur are not descended from the Rajput-Kshatriyas of Northern India. The story by which the Bissenpur Kshatriyas connect themselves with the Kshatriyas of Northern India is thus told in Dr. Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*:—

"Raghunath Sing, the founder of the dynasty of Bishnupur derived his origin from the kings of Jainagar near Brindaban. The story of his parentage is as follows:—The King of Jainagar, being seized with a desire to visit distant countries, set out for Purushottam, and on his way thither passed through Bishnupur, While resting at one of the halting-places in the great forest of that country, his wife gave birth to a son; and the King foreseeing the difficulty of carrying a child with him, left the mother and her baby behind in the woods, and went forward to his journey.

---

*The Brahmans describe this revolution in their own way. It is stated in the Agni Purana, that after the old race of Kshatriyas had been exterminated, God created a new race of Kshatriyas on Mount Abú (as Rajputana) for the propagation of the Hindu religion.

"Soon after the father had departed, a man named Sri Kasmetia Bagdi, (an aboriginal inhabitant,) when gathering fire-wood, passed by the halting-place, and saw the newly-born child lying helpless and alone. The mother never was heard of; and whether she was devoured by wild beasts, or found shelter with the natives, remains a mystery to this day. The woodman took the infant home, and reared him till he reached the age of seven, when a certain Brahman of the place, struck with his beauty and the marks of royal descent that were visible on his person, took him to his house.

"Soon afterwards, the King (an aboriginal prince) having died, his obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, and people from all parts went to the funeral feast. The Brahman being very poor went among the rest, taking Raghu with him. When the Brahman was in the middle of his repast, the late King's elephant seized Raghu with his trunk, and approached the empty throne. Great was the consternation and terror, lest the elephant should dash the boy to pieces; but when the royal animal carefully placed the lad on the throne, the whole multiude, thunder-struck, at seeing a deed so manifestly done by the will of God, filled the place with their acclamations, and the ministers agreed to crown the boy on the spot.

"Raghu Nath Sing, therefore, was the first king of Bishnupur.'

Such is the story of the descent of the Bissenpur Kshatriyas from the Kshatriyas of Northern India. If it were not ridiculous to apply the rules of historical criticism into a story which is so apparently a myth, we would ask one or two questions. If Sri Kasmetia Bagdi, we would enquire, found the child by itself in the forest, how did he (or any one else) know that it was the child of the queen of Jainagar, and not of some unfortunate woman of the neighbourhood who might have better reasons for abandoning her child? If the king of Jainagar, again, found it impossible to carry the new-born child with him, could he not have left some part of his establishment with provision to take care of the queen and the male child until he returned from Purushotlam? Is there any evidence, one is inclined to ask, beyond the signs which the learned Brahman observed on the boy's forehead and the conduct of the inspired elephant, to shew that the boy was a Kshatriya boy, and not a Bagdi boy? And lastly, is there any thing to fix the date or the authenticity of the story, or to shew that it was not fabricated when the Rajas of Bissenpur were powerful in Western Bengal and had assumed Hindu civilization, and were anxious, therefore, to make out a respectable royal descent for themselves?

But it is needless to make such enquiries; the story is exactly

such as is prevalent in all parts of India among semi-aboriginal tribes who connect themselves with Aryan ancestors. The aborigines of Birbhum claim descent from the great Bhima of the Mahabharata; we have ourselves heard the more advanced men among the aborigines of Hill Tippera claim descent from the Pandavas; and the semi-aboriginal Bediyas of Nuddia and Jessore claim descent from Kalketu renowned in the song of Mukunda Ram. The fact that the rajas of Bissenpur called themselves Mallas (an aboriginal title) for many centuries before they assumed the Kshatriya title of Sinha, the fact that down to the present day they are known as Bagdi rajas all over Bengal, as well as numerous local facts and circumstances,—all go to prove that the Rajas of Bissenpur are Kshatriyas, because of their long independence and their past history, but not by descent. The story of descent is legendary, but the Kshatriyas of Bissenpur can shew the same letters patent for their Kshatriyahood as the Rajputs of Northern India, or the orginal Kshatriyas of India could shew, *viz.*, military profession and the exercise of royal powers for centuries.

We have spoken of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas of Bengal. There are no Vaisyas or Sudras* in Bengal, and the remaining castes found in Bengal are therefore what Manu calls mixed castes. We have already stated that these mixed castes, *i. e.*, the modern castes of India were formed by the admixture of the mass of the Aryan conquerors with the aborigines, and the division of the united community into various different professions. There can be no doubt that when these castes migrated to Bengal, they received a fresh admixture of aboriginal blood.

The aborigines of Bengal who in each succeeding century embraced Hindu civilization and entered within the pale of Hinduism ranged themselves under the recognized castes according to the professions they came to follow. Those who kept herds called themselves Goalas, those who wove were styled Tautis, and those who took to pottery were called Kúmars. This process is, indeed, going on to the present day, and we shall only mention one remarkable instance of this process of assimilation which came under our observation very recently. A criminal case was recently tried in which it came out that a Tauti (weaver) widow had taken a second husband. This naturally caused surprise, as Tautis are recognized as completely within the pale of Hinduism, and remarriage of widows is not allowed among them. On enquiry

---

* The so-called Sudras of Eastern Bengal have no connexion with Manu's Sudras, but are simply aborigines of Bengal, who have become Hinduized. They are only about fifty thousand in number.

however, it was found that this particular class of Tautis were semi-aborigines *(Chuars)* like Bauris or Bagdis, that they called themselves Tautis because the *taut* (weaving) was their profession, that though fast assuming Hindu religion and customs they had not yet entirely abandoned their own customs. We have no doubt that in the recent census these Tautis have been classed as Hindus, and not as semi-Hinduized aborigines; and we are perfectly sure, in the course of a few centuries, these Tautis will completely leave behind their aboriginal customs, and will be reckoned as pure Hindus like other Tautis.

It will thus appear that numbers of aborigines have by taking to different professions entered into the corresponding castes of the Hindus. More frequently, however, entire tribes of aborigines have, without splitting themselves into different professions, embraced Hindu civilization, *en masse*, and entered bodily, as it were within the pale of Hinduism, forming new castes at the lower end of the ladder. This process has gone on for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, until it is impossible now to state which among the lower classes of Hindus were pure aborigines in olden times, and which of them have only an admixture of aboriginal blood in them. It is quite certain that all the lower caste Hindus have in them a large proportion of aboriginal blood, while some of them like the Kaibarta Dáses were probably pure aborigines who have entered *en masse* within the pale of Hinduism.

The same remark applies to the Musalmans who form one-half of the population of Bengal Proper, *i.e.*, not including Behar or Orissa, Chota Nagpur or Assam. Of the eighteen million Musalmans of Bengal Proper by far the majority were low caste Hindus a few centuries ago; and of these low caste Hindus a large proportion were aborigines who had become Hinduized, while the remainder had in them a large admixture of aboriginal blood.

Thus it will appear that a very large proportion of the population of Bengal, Hindu as well as Musalman, can trace their origine to the aboriginal stock.

Lastly, there are numerous tribes of aborigines who have become partly Hinduized, but have not yet entirely come within the pale of Hinduism. Indeed, these tribes, Chandals, Bagdis, Bauris, &c., are in the very process of entering within the pale of Hinduism; and nothing can be more interesting than to watch the process, and to see how some tribes have come further towards Hinduism than others. We are not now speaking of the pure aborigines like the Sonthals but of the semi-Hinduized aborigines who have already adopted some Hindu customs, and have yet to adopt the rest. These semi-Hinduized aborigines repeat to us the unwritten history of those millions of Hindus and Musalmans

who were once aborigines, who have in past ages gone through the self same process, and who now form recognized members of the Hindu or the Musalman community.

According to the Census of 1872 Bengal Proper (*i.e.*, not including Behar or Orissa, Chota Nagpore or Assam) contains a population of 36 millions. This population may be roughly divided into four main sections, *viz.*, Musalmans numbering 17½ millions ; Hindus numbering 13 millions ; semi-Hinduized aborigines numbering 5 millions, and pure aborigines numbering less than half a million. * It is significant that out of the aborigines of Bengal in the present day, the great mass numbering five millions are semi-Hinduized, and are fast adopting Hindu manners, religion and civilization. Only a small proportion of them numbering considerably less than half a million like the Sonthals, Dhángars, &c., have still resisted the wonderful power of assimilation which the Hindu religion possesses.

The five millions of semi-Hinduized aborigines may be thus classed in order of their numerical strength :—Chandals, 16 lacs ; Rajbansis (of Rungpur, &c,) 7 lacs ; Bagdis 7 lacs ; Muchis 4 lacs ; Palis (of Dinagepur, &c.) 4 lacs ; Doms 2 lacs ; Haris 2 lacs ; Bauris (of Banburn &c.,) 2 lacs ; others 7 lacs. Total 5,100,000.

Living in the same district, and often in the same village, the Hindu and the semi-Hinduized Aboriginal nevertheless present differences in their habits and ways of living which cannot but strike even the most careless observer. Belief in a highly developed religion and an elaborate superstition has made the Hindu even of the lower castes timid and contemplative ; a higher civilization has made him calculating thoughtful and frugal, and a long training in the arts of peace has made him regular in his habits, industrious in his toil, peaceful in his disposition. The semi-Aboriginal, on the other hand, presents us with a striking contrast in character in all these respects. He is of an excitable disposition and seeks for strong excitement and pleasures ; he is incapable of forethought, and consumes his earnings without a thought for the future ; he is incapable of sustained toil, and, therefore, oftener works as a field-labourer than as a cultivator. Simple, merry in his disposition, excitable by nature, without forethought or frugality and given to drunkenness, the semi-Aboriginal of Bengal brings to his civilized home many of the

---

* Foreigners, Eurasians and Native Christians do not altogether make even a quarter of a million, and have therefore been left out from the rough calculation given above.

virtues and vices of the savage aboriginal life which his forefathers lived. In every village in Bengal, where semi-aboriginals live, a separate portion of the village is reserved for them, and the most careless observer will be struck with the difference between neatness and tidiness, the well swept, well washed, and well thatched huts of the Hindu neighbourhood, and the miserable, dirty, ill-thatched huts of the *Bauri Para*, or the *Hari Para*. If a cow or a pig dies in the village it is flayed, and the meat carried home by the Muchis or Bauris, while Hindus turn aside their face and stop their nose in disgust when passing near such scenes. If there is an outstill in the village, it is in the *Bagdi Para*, or in the *Bauri Para*, it is thronged by people of these castes who spend their miserable earnings here, regardless of their ill-thatched huts and their ill-fed children.

The result of the outstill system has been discussed threadbare in journals and papers, nor do we wish to revive the discussion in this place. One or two main facts, however, may be mentioned. The mass of the Hindu population of Bengal are dead against drink and drunkenness; their frugality and habitual forethought, their naturally sober and contemplative turn of mind as well as their religious feelings keep them quite safe from contracting intemperate habits. A few educated young men, and a larger number of uneducated men of the upper classes may get addicted to drink, but the mass of the working classes, the frugal and calculating shopkeeper, the patient and hardworking Sadgop or Goala, the humble and laborious Kaibarta,—all keep away from drink. The boisterous merriment that is caused by drunkenness is foreign to their quiet, sober nature, and if a very few of them drink, they drink quietly at home before they retire at night. Far different is the case with the semi-Hinduized aborigines. Barbarians hanker after strong excitements and boisterous joys, and nowhere is drunkenness so universal as among barbarians. The Bauris, the Bagdis, the Muchis have enough of their old nature in them to feel a craving for drink, and the outstill system with the cheapening of spirits has been a boon to them. When spirit was dear, they made themselves merry over their Puchwai, and now that spirit is cheaper, they take to it naturally in preference to Puchwai. Of the numerous outstills and Puchwai shops in Burdwan and Bankura that we have visited, we have not seen one which did not mainly depend for its revenue on semi-aboriginal consumers. We never saw one single Hindu among the crowds of people assembled in liquor or Pachwai shops; when the Hindu does drink, he sends for the drink, and consumes it at home.

The distinction between Hindus and the semi-Hinduized aborigines is no less marked in the position of their women. Nowhere except in towns are Hindu women kept in that absolute seclusion which Musalman women delight in. In villages the wives and daughters of the most respectable and high caste Hindus walk with perfect freedom from house to house, or to the tank or river side for their ablutions. Respectable women go veiled while those of the lower classes go without veil or only half veiled.

No respectable woman will speak to, or can be accosted by a stranger, while even among the lower class Hindu women, except when verging on old age, few will often speak to strangers.

These restrictions entirely disappear in the case of the semi-Hinduized aborigines. Their women have the perfect freedom of women in Europe. Young wives, as well as elderly widows, walk without the apology of a veil through the streets, or the village bazar; they will talk to any one when necessary; and being naturally of merry, lively dispositions, (as all aboriginals and semi-aboriginals are,) they chat and laugh gaily as they pass through the most crowded streets. The young Tauti or Chutar women the Kamar or the Kamar's wife will often stand aside when a stranger is passing by the same road, but custom imposes no such rule of modesty on the women of the Bauris.

But if the semi-aboriginal women enjoy the perfect freedom of European women, they have often to pay dearer for their liberty. Household work is the lot of Hindu women, but the semi-aboriginal women must do outdoor work also. Wives as well as widows, mothers and daughters are all expected to work in the field or at the village tank or road, and so eke out the miserable incomes of their husbands, sons or fathers.

When a road is constructed by Government or a tank excavated by a village Zemindar, Bauri men and women work together, the men using the spades and the women carrying the earth in baskets. Wives often carry things for sale to the village market, while husbands work in the field; Chandal women in Jessore, Nuddea and elsewhere carry to the market huge baskets of fish which their husbands had captured over night, while the Bauri women of Bankura are the best coolies for carrying luggage or portmanteaus often twenty or thirty miles in a day.

There is a curious distinction made in field labour among the semi-aboriginal tribes. Ploughing and sowing are the duties of men, transplantation and weeding are the duties of women.

When the seedlings are grown in the nursery, and the fields are well ploughed and prepared for receiving the seedlings, the work of the men has ceased for a time.

To take the seedlings to the field and to plant them there in sand or in knee-deep water is the work of the women. They are said to be more proficient in their light but tiresome work than men, and some women are so proficient, that they will not work for others at daily rates of wages, but will earn much more by taking contracts for definite areas which they will plant with seedlings in a wonderfully short time. In the fertile valley of the Cossye, in the district of Bankura, we have seen rice-fields stretching one after the other for miles together, and all under transplantation. Bauri and other semi-aboriginal women are seen by the hundred engaged in this work, standing in the mid-day sun in wind or water, planting the seedlings with surprising nimbleness, or resting for a while, and gaily chatting with each other with that lightness and joyousness of heart which never deserts them. When the corn is ripe the tougher work of reaping belongs to man, though we have sometimes seen women take a part in it also. For the rest, the lot of these semi-aboriginal women is not a hard one, to judge from their healthy appearance and their merry faces; but when the husbands get drunk as they do as often as they can, the wives, we fancy, have a bad time of it, and wife-beating is very much worse among these semi-aboriginal castes than among Hindus.

In their social and religious ceremonies the semi-Hinduized aborigines are every day being drawn closer to Hinduism. The more respectable and advanced among them may indeed be said to have adopted Hinduism in all its main features, while even the most backward castes have adopted some Hindu customs. They all marry their girls at the early age of eight to twelve years and some times at 3 or 4 years of age like the Hindus, and the marriage ceremony is often an imitation of the Hindu ceremony. They all perform Sradh ten or twelve days after the death of their relations, and the ceremony is purely a Hindu one. They revere the Hindu gods and bow down to them when they go to see them in the houses of Hindus, and some of them, if they are able, worship Kali or Lakshmi in their own houses.

It would be an interesting task to examine the different degrees of progress which the different semi-aboriginal castes have made towards Hinduism, but our space forbids us from attempting this except in the barest outlines. The more advanced among them, *i.e.*, those who have been brought in contact with Hinduism since a longer period, like the Chandals, the Bagdis, the Meteyas, the Khoyras, the Lohárs, and others, have Brahmans

of their own just like the Hindu castes of Kaibartas or Goalas. These Brahmans (themselves semi-Hinduized aboriginal) wear the sacred thread, preside at all social and religious ceremonies, celebrate marriages and sraddhas, and in short, perform all offices which Hindu Brahmans perform for the Hindu castes. These high caste semi-aborigines, if I may so call them, are as punctilious about their food as the Hindus, and will not touch beef or fowl or the flesh of pigs. They have even adopted the baneful Hindu custom of not allowing their widows to marry,—a custom which has not yet been adopted by the less advanced semi-aborigines. Múchis call their priests by the name of *Purohit* or Brahman, and such Brahmans wear the sacred thread. Dóms call their priests by the name of *Pandit*, and these pandits will no doubt assume the name of Brahmans, and wear the sacred thread in course of time. These Purohits and Pandits preside at social and religious ceremonies and celebrate marriages and Sráddhas. Some Dóms wear a kind of black stone which they call Kalu Bir, or the black hero. As this caste is drawn closer to Hinduism, Kalu Bir will no doubt be considered a form of Krishna! Dóms eat fowls, but not beef or pork; Múchis eat both fowl and beef but not pork. Lowest in the scale of the semi-Hinduized aboriginals are Haris, Bauris, and other castes who have no recognized Brahmans, Purohits or Pandits, and who perform their religious and social ceremonies without the aid of hired priests. The parents and relations meet together and celebrate marriages, while Sráddha is signalized by big feasts in which Pachwai is consumed by the maund! It will thus be seen that different castes of semi-aboriginals have made different degrees of progress towards Hinduism, towards the adoption of Hindu customs and the worship of Hindu gods. It is in the very nature of things that barbarous tribes living for hundreds of years in close contact with civilized peoples should adopt their manners, their civilization, and their religion. Nevertheless the transaction in Bengal has not entirely been one-sided, and the civilized Hindus have in some instances, at least, acted not as leaders but as borrowers. The semi-Hinduized aborigines may take to themselves the credit of having added some godheads to the Hindu Pantheon, and the goddess of Monshá is perhaps the most remarkable instance. Hindu gods, as we have stated before, are rather revered and venerated even by the advanced semi-aboriginals than actually worshipped; but Monshá is universally worshipped by the most backward as well as the advanced semi-aborigines of Western Bengal, and the worship is continued for days together, and is attended with much pomp and rejoicing, and singing in the streets. The fact of the introduction of this aboriginal worship among Hindus is crystallized

in the story of Chand Saudagar, and is handed down from generation to generation. It is said, that the Saudagar refused to worship that goddess till his trade was ruined, and his dearest child was killed by snake-bite on his marriage day; then and then only was the merchant compelled to recognize the power of the snake goddess. It is significant, too, that the place which is pointed out as the site of this occurrence is near the Damodar river, which may be considered as the boundary line between the first Hindu settlers of Bengal and the aborigines. At what period the worship of Monshá crossed their boundary line and spread among the Hindus cannot be ascertained; but up to the present day the worship of this goddess among Hindus is tame compared to universal rejoicing and enthusiasm with which she is worshipped by her ancient followers, the present semi-Hinduized aborigines.*

One other puja which is performed specially by Bauris requires a passing notice. The worship of Bhader (in the month of Bhadra) is said to have been recently introduced into Bankura from Manbhum and other western districts. The worship is a purely aborignial one, and the goddess Bhader is not recognized by the Hindus nor has yet obtained any Hindu worshippers. She is imagined to be a princess of excessive goodness and beauty, who took pity for the condition of the poor Bauris, but died at an early age. The Bauris have no priests, and so the women and children of each family chant songs day after day before this idol which they deck with flowers. For some days villages and streets resound with the singing of women and the merry shouts of boys. The last day, Bhadra, is the last and most important day of this primitive puja, and the worshippers forget all work and all cares in their laud and boisterous worship of Bhader. There can be no doubt the worship is connected in some way with the early rice harvest which commences in Bhadra. This is the time of national

---

* An ingenious and esteemed friend suggested to me that the worship of Chandi may also have been originally an aboriginal worship, and that the aboriginal goddess may have subsequently been recognized by the Hindus and identified by them with their own Durgá. The theory is not improbable, and the stories of Kalketu and Srimanta Saúdagar told in verse by Mukunda Ram, seem to point to the first introduction of the worship of Chandi among Hindus. But among the semi-aborigines of Western Bengal I have found no traces of the worship of Chandi, and without such evidence the theory cannot be said to have been satisfactorily proved. In the same manner I have found no evidence of Dr. Hunter's theory, that Kali was originally an aboriginal goddess, and was subsequently introduced in the Hindu Pantheon. There can be no doubt, however, that many local deities of the aborigines have been kept up by the Hindus and worshipped under Hindu names. Baijnath (now called Baidyanath by Hindus) in the Sonthal pergunnas is a remarkable instance. Thus not only the aborigines but their gods also have become Hinduized!

rejoicings all over Bengal, and Hindus worship Durga, Lakshmi, and a succession of deities as this harvest goes on.

We have scarcely any space left for any lengthy account of the pure aborigines of Bengal, who have not yet been Hinduized to any extent. Happily it is not necessary to make any lengthy remarks about them. There are excellent works describing the manners and customs of the Sonthals, the Dhangars, and the other aborigines of Bengal, and a reproduction, or even an abstract of such accounts is scarcely called for here.

The aborigines of Bengal Proper number only 387,000 out of a total population of 36 millions, or in other words, slightly over one per cent. of the total population. Of these 387,000 no less than 140,000 are Sonthals, and no other tribe can boast of even a third of that number. The proportion for the whole of Lower Bengal and Assam is higher. There are 3½ millions of aborigines in a population of 67 millions, *i.e.*, a little over 5 per cent. of the population are aborigines. But their ranks will grow thinner and thinner as tribe after tribe will gradually assume Hindu manners and religion, until, in course of time, all the aborigines of Bengal will become Hinduized more or less. Indeed, attempts are being made under our own eyes to bring these pure aborigines closer to Hinduism. One such attempt made in Western Bengal, two years ago, is of so remarkable a nature as to deserve a passing mention. Baskets full of leaves and each containing a written scroll were sent round from Sonthal village to Sonthal village. No one knew where these baskets came from, but it was believed that they had come from a certain Saint living on a mountain; and the written scroll contained a mandate on the Sonthals to refrain from drink and unclean meat, and to conform to many Hindu customs. The Sonthals of each village were directed to take the mysterious basket to the next Sonthal village, and so the mandate circulated from village to village, and from district to district, without any expenditure on the part of the person who had conceived the movement. So deeply were the Sonthals impressed with the holiness of the mandate, that many of them sold off their fowls, which accordingly became exceedingly cheap for a time; and they also conformed in other respects to the orders they had received.

R. C. Dutt, c s.

## ART. V.—LORD RIPON'S EDUCATION-POLICY.

THE *Minutes* of the Calcutta University for the year 1881-82 contain a reprint of the address to Convocation pronounced by the Marquis of Ripon as Chancellor on the 11th March last. Under ordinary conditions this would be an old matter to be treated of in September; but the fact that the Commission referred to in the address is still at work, justifies a few observations on the character of the policy traced by a nobleman who is not merely the head of the University of Calcutta, but the head—for the time—of the Government of India. These Commissions bear a close resemblance to a similar feature of the administration of the Russian Empire. Under a non-parliamentary system it is both natural and useful, that an inquiry by experts should precede the action of the State. But in either case the action of the State is practically autocratic, and the report of the best Commission—even if unanimous—is but material; and in no case binding, except so far as it may adopt the impress of the autocratic mind.

The speech made by Lord Ripon so long ago, possesses indeed, little intrinsic interest. And it does not seem to have met with much attention, either in this country or at home. To say the truth, his Lordship, though an evidently sincere man, has never yet made much impression on public opinion; and the speech in question was not calculated to alter the general state of feeling about him. What he then said had neither the eloquence of his imaginative but brilliant predecessor, nor the calm wisdom—uniting synthesis and antithesis—of Sir H. S. Maine, to whose addresses in the same place Lord Ripon made very commendable allusion. Nevertheless, his speech deserves notice, not only on account of the station that he happens, for the moment, to fill, but also on account of one or two points touched upon as to which his opinions are not unlikely to have considerable influence on the future of India.

The first matter which received special mention was the degree to which the University was to sway the teaching of its affiliated schools and colleges. On this the Chancellor had nothing to say that rose above the level of commonplace. The University is to exercise a great controlling influence while leaving the utmost possible freedom to the subordinate institutions. It is difficult to find out what this means; but perhaps it was not intended to have any meaning; in which case it may be said to be a success.

On the next subject, however, Lord Ripon's trumpet gave no uncertain sound. Pledged as is the British Government in India "not to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the religion or the religious feelings of the Native population," he would not be expressing his whole mind if he were to conceal his "belief that what in the language of the day is called a purely secular education is not a complete education." People will differ on this subject; but all must agree that some significance must needs belong to such words uttered in such circumstances. Lord Ripon has never been thought an egotist; and it can hardly be supposed that he used this weighty expression only to air his own personal convictions. It must therefore be taken that the present head, not merely of the University but of the Empire, desires to see a religious element, or character, infused into the education of India as aided and directed by the ruling power. Nor is this, perhaps, quite so wild an idea as it may at first sight seem.

What are known as denominational views, indeed, neither ought to be taught by the State nor would it be possible to teach them. The various systems of Hindus, Muhammadans, Papists, Protestants, etc. must be left to be expounded by the respective ministers and propagators of each faith, for all clerical influence should be, as far as possible, excluded alike from the curriculum of the University and from the teaching of the affiliated institutions. It is even a question whether such subjects as the "Evidences of Christianity,"—the "History of the Jews," or "Natural Theology" (all of which are subjects of examination) can be made compatible with strict neutrality. At least, so long as the Ethics of the Vedanta, the Rise of Islam, or the Law of the Wheel, are excluded from the list of subjects.

Nevertheless there is, in some aspects of modern philosophy, an ominous indication of what might happen if the State were to go on assuming that the study of Literature, History, and the various sciences, abstract and concrete, could be pursued through life with a total ignoring of the Infinite. Voltaire, in an often-quoted passage said, that if there were no God, it would be necessary to invent one; and it can hardly be denied that the human race has, in all times, and in well nigh all places, differed from the other animal tribes in a vague yet obstinate sense of Something beyond the phenomenal world. Since the appearance of Locke and Hume, down to Kant and Hamilton, a growing feeling has spread, which is now developed by Herbert Spencer. All complete knowledge, it is held, must be relative; man can only cognise what he understands and verifies. But these teachers themselves—and Mr. Spencer

in particular—are fully conscious that there is more in the human mind. Whether from an intuition of truth or from a common sense of a common need, Man recognises the Infinite. In Mr. Spencer's teaching this recognition is treated as not inconsistent with the relativity of knowledge. Man may know that God is, and yet not know *what* God is. Perhaps the use of the word "know" may be objectionable; but if we substitute the word "believe," the practical importance of the doctrine will be little touched. How we can believe a thing to be without having a clearly defined notion of its character may be seen from an illustration. Let it be supposed that an intelligent young chief in the heart of Africa had been brought up by a Missionary to read English, and had from time to time read the copies of *The Times* which occasionally found their way to his teacher. So long as he lived (in possession of his faculties) this chief would know (or believe) that there were such things as Electric telegraphs, Public opinion, the claims of Humanity, and such like. All which (though he had never seen them) would make up in his mind an ill defined, and perhaps incomplete (or even erroneous) idea of civilisation; yet this must perforce make him a different man from the savages around him.

And so, to compare great things with small, a Hindu or a Musalman, a Catholic or a Unitarian, may—and probably must—share the common belief that, interpenetrating and actuating the phenomenal universe, there is a Power (beyond finite comprehension) that consecrates all honest effort and furnishes a continual antidote to Pessimism, the great foe of human welfare. If that idea were excluded from State education in any country it would be a doleful error, and one pregnant with the saddest possibilities. If this be what Lord Ripon intended to combat in denouncing "a purely secular education" men of all creeds can have no difficulty in going with him, heart and hand.

The next point taken up is also of intrinsic importance which is enhanced by the position of the speaker. Referring to the Commission now sitting, the Chancellor indicated that its labours would have nothing to do with the University, not much with the so-called colleges, and higher schools, but "a vast field in regard to primary education." The noble Marquis could hardly have spoken more clearly than he did without entirely ignoring the independent action of the Commission. Plainly, it has been settled beforehand that one of the main lines of policy to be recommended in the report is the creation of a number of new village schools, and a large increase

in the number of pupils. Speaking as a practical statesman, Lord Ripon does not think it well that there should be "a small highly educated class brought in contact with a large uneducated mass." This is a truth which would admit of expansion and might be enforced by many examples.

Society is an organism, and to grow healthily, its development must follow the common laws of organic growth. If we saw a plant, rooted in an unsuitable soil, which put forth bud and blossom on its upper branches under the unseasonable smile of a St. Martin's summer, we should naturally fear for the future of that plant. But it cannot be otherwise with a society that makes a brave show atop before its lower parts are in proper order. The most destructive catastrophes of history have been traceable to such a state of things.

It was, therefore, within the legitimate province of a Chancellor who was also a Viceroy, to urge upon those native noblemen and gentlemen whom he was about to clothe with administrative power, the propriety of their imitating the example of other countries in founding and tending schools for the people. And for these reasons his address, though not brilliant, contained—as it seems to us—suggestions which ought not to be forgotten or overlooked.

## ART. VI.—IN SELF-DEFENCE.

BABU Syamacharn Ganguli has, in the last number of the *Calcutta Review*, devoted considerable space to criticism of the views of myself and of other persons regarding the Bihárí language. As my name has been brought prominently forward in the discussion, I would ask leave to trespass again on the space of the *Calcutta Review*. I do not propose to answer all the arguments brought against me in this article, for many of them have already been answered before, and the rest will be found, treated of at considerable length, in the introduction to my grammars of the Bihár dialects which will shortly be published. There are a few errors in the article, however, which I am bound to correct at once, as they tend to diminish any little authority which may attach to my utterances, and thereby to injure the cause which I advocate.

In the first place, I must protest against Dr. Hoernle being made a stalking-horse from behind which to attack me. It places us both before the world in a false position, and leads people to think that he and I differ upon important points, and that he is a sober, practical philologer, while I, after half-mastering the introduction to his Gaudian Grammar, have hurried off on a wild-goose chase of my own, leaving him and prudence and hard facts, leagues behind. Now, this is just what is not the case; and it would be difficult to find two persons so thoroughly in accord on every point connected with the Bihári language as Dr. Hoernle and myself.

To shew how entirely wrong Syamacharan Babu is, I here quote in parallel columns a few statements as made by him, and opposite to them the actual facts:—

| | |
|---|---|
| (1.) *Babu Syamacharan Ganguli.*—"It is the *Eastern Hindí* of Dr. Hoernle whence Mr. Grierson has drawn his inspiration, and he would make the same a reality by creating a standard Eastern Hindí where at present none exists * * * | *The facts.*<br>The name Bihárí was first proposed by the Editor of the *Englishman* in an editorial published in the spring of 1881. It was next independently suggested by Dr. Hoernle as preferable to Eastern Hindí, and finally adopted by ourselves in concert for future use. I have hence— |
| Mr. Grierson parts company with Dr. Hoernle, drops the doctor's Eastern Hindí (a term which, however objectionable, | (1.) *Not* parted company with Dr. Hoernle.<br>(2.) *Not* proposed the use of the term Bihárí, and |

nevertheless represents a reality,—an actually existing group of dialects) and boldly proposes *Bihárí* as the designation of a literary language for Bihár that is yet to be."

(3.) (*see* foot-note to my articles in the *Calcutta Review* for September 1881) I have *not* suggested it as a designation of any literary language present or future, but as the designation of a language current in various dialects, without a standard, and with small culture.

*A propos* of the objection made by Babu Syamacharan Ganguli, in the part omitted from the above quoted passage, to the use of the term Bihárí, I have no space here to enter into the question. It is fully discussed in the introduction to my Bihár grammars, shortly to be published. In the meantime if the Babu or any one else can suggest a better name, Dr. Hoernle and I shall be happy to accept it.

(2). The Babu advocates the extension of Bangálí into Mithilá, citing Dr. Hoernle as follows :— "Indeed, I am doubtful whether it is not more correct to class the Maithilí as a Bangálí dialect rather than as an E. Hindí. one."

*The facts.*

I have Dr. Hoernle's authority for stating that he has no longer any doubts on the point, and that Maithilí cannot be treated as a Bangálí dialect.

(3). Babu Syamacharan Ganguli maintains that the correspondence in regard to vocables between Hindí and Bihárí is enormous.

"Mr. Grierson points out a few differences in the latter respect, but he does not tell us aught about the proportion they bear to the agreements."

Ample evidence on this point will shortly be forthcoming which will rather astonish Babu Syamacharan Ganguli, as Dr. Hoernle and myself have a Bihárí dictionary in preparation. In the meantime the Babu will probably be surprised to learn, that one man unaided was, the other day, able to collect more than four hundred words in one district alone, within one month, not one of which appears in Bates' Hindí Dictionary. It may be noted that less than one-tenth of these words were agricultural.

(4). Babu Syamacharan Ganguli states that I am not careful about my facts. He then, to contradict statements

In spite of what the Babu says, I am not in the habit of launching out into airy generalities on insufficient data.

of mine, says that 33 out of 42 educated Bihárís from whom he enquired, had never heard of Bidyápati, while the remaining nine cannot repeat any of his lyrics.

I would point out first the very unfavourable and unfair test to which he subjects me. He selects the extreme Western and extreme Southern corners of Bihár, and enquires from pleaders and *amlá*, the very men who by their Urdú education and habit, would be least likely to know anything about Bidyápati, and most likely to be ashamed of anything that they did know (for, alas for Bihár, it is too much the habit of men with a Persian education to be ashamed of their own native tongue). But I am willing to waive all that, and to adhere to my statement that the "name of Bidyápati is as much a household word amongst the inhabitants of Bangál and Bihár, as that of Tulsí Dás is amongst those of the Upper Provinces." Babu Syamacharan Ganguli says that the statement must have moved a smile on the lips of every Bangálí reader. Surely the Babu has read the literature of his own country and the sacred works of the most influential religion in Bangál. Has he became so thorough a Bihárí, that he has forgotten the life of Chaitanya and his love for Bidyápati's songs? Has he forgotten what a *Sankirtana* is? Has he never read the *Vaishnava Pada-Kalpa-Taru* or the *Práchína Kábya Sangraha?* Has he never heard of the well-known song beginning "Chandí Dása Bidyápati dui jana píriti"? When Babu Syamacharan Ganguli can answer all these questions in the negative, then I shall begin to think that perhaps our poet's name is not a household word in Bangál.

The second statement which the Babu traverses is, that "the graceful lyrics of Bidyápati are on the lips of every educated men in Bihár"; and so they are. He says that not one of his 42 Chhaprá friends could repeat his lyrics; and no doubt they said so, and yet, though they know it not, their whole household conversation is full of him. It is just the same all over the world. The words of the best poems are known to every one, and yet the authors' names are forgotten. Who in England knows the name of the author of "Home, sweet home," and yet that sweetest of all lyrics is familiar in every cottage. So it is in Bihár; every one knows quotations and phrases from Bidyápati, and yet few have an idea as to who the author of them was. Hence in spite of the Babu's arithmetic, I still maintain that the "graceful lyrics of Bidyápati are on the lips of every educated man in Bihár."*

---

* Compare Muller, Chips III, 107, —"The name of the poet is often forgotten, whilst many of his songs have become popular songs, just because they were sung from the heart and soul of the German people. ....."

(5.) *Babu Syamacharan Ganguli.*—Mr. Grierson's extraordinary theory may be contrasted with the very sober one of Dr. Hoernle, of which, indeed, Mr. Grierson's is a deteriorated edition.

*The facts.*

When the *Calcutta Review* did me the honour of accepting my theory for insertion, I had never seen Dr. Hoernle's Gaudian grammar, nor, I believe, had it been published. Besides, a reader of the whole of my theory, and not one short extract, will see that it and Dr. Hoernle's are identical, though necessarily couched in different terms.

(6.) "Mr. Grierson has found an able critic in Bábú Rádhiká Prasanna Mukherji, who, in two successive pamphlets, has effectively disputed Mr. Grierson's position."

I admit all this except the word "effectively." I am under the impression that Rádhiká Bábú's second pamphlet was printed for private circulation, and under this impression I answered it privately. If Babu Syamacharan Ganguli desire it, I can send him a copy of my reply. The first pamphlet is dealt with in my second article in the *Calcutta Review.*

(7.) Mr. Grierson admits that in Patna, Bihár and other Muhammadan towns, Hindústáni is the current language.

Where did I ever make such an admission? I once wrote "in these Muhammadan towns as might be expected, Muhammadan influence, and the necessity of having a *lingua franca* as a means of communication with traders from all parts of India, have kept up and extended the use of Hindí, so that in these towns, and their immediate suburbs, the actual language of the country has, to a large extent, fallen into disuse"; but this is a very different statement.

Babu Syamacharan's hopeful prophecy of Hindústáni some day extending all over India, must, I fear, be classed like many other wishes as one which is father to the thought. No doubt a multiplication of languages is a great evil, but we must take the languages as they exist, and not as we wish them to be. At present (*pace* the Babu's statement to the contrary) the Bihárí dialects

are mutually intelligible amongst the masses, while Bihárí and Hindústáni are not. I am accused of wild theories because I ask for facts to be admitted, rather than that we should shut our eyes, and then deny their existence; while my opponent, who himself claims dry facts as his specialty, leads us off on one of the wildest and most Utopian theories ever discussed. Nations or tribes cannot change their languages by act of Parliament, but only by centuries of attrition, and seldom even then. Let us first acknowledge the existence of Bihárí, and then in the course of generations, when Panjábí and Gujarátí, Maráthí and Sindhí have been, or are being, absorbed by Hindústáni, it will be time to see if it has found that footing, which hitherto it has failed to gain in Bihár. In the meantime, Bihárí will continue to exist in spite of all our Courts and all our schools, or our ostrich-like denial of its existence.

This of course is written under the impression that the meaning of Syamacharan Babu's language is that he looks forward to the time when Hindústáni is to entirely supersede Bangálí, Maráthí and Gujarátí, which latter are to disappear utterly from the face of the earth. But if, as appears from another portion of his article, he looks forward to a prospect of Hindústáni becoming the Imperial language of India, while at the same time it does not abolish the provincial ones, then, I would ask, what is the good of all his arguments? Supposing we do succeed, as I hope some day we may succeed, in establishing Bihárí as the officially recognized mother-tongue of the Bihárí area, that event would not interfere with the Babu's pet idea of an "Imperial Hindustáni" any more than the recognition of Maráthí and Bangálí (which are now recognized) would. Bihárí would in not one whit more contradict it than Bangálí. Till the success of "Imperial Hindustáni" is realized, Bangálí must exist and be recognized as the main means of communication in Bangál, and why may not my poor despised Bihárí be so too in Bihár.

But all this disputing is but leather and prunella. The real point is whether the people of Bihár talk a radically different language from Hindústáni or not, and whether the latter can ever be accepted by the people as their national language. I answer these questions one way, and the Babu another; but I would point out that no one can answer them or discuss the question of Bihárí at all, until he has a thorough knowledge of all the Bihár dialects. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with my opponent, but judging from his article, I should imagine that his knowledge of this part of the subject is not very complete, and I would urge him, before committing

himself to writing again, to study it. For this purpose the way will soon be made easy by the publication of grammars, reading books, and a dictionary; and I am vain enough to hope that a study of these not unimportant title-deeds will restore to Bihár the possession of its right,—its mother-tongue.

BANKIPORE,
*July 20th*, 1882. } GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

---

## ADDENDUM.

### ON THE OPINIONS OF BIHARIS THEMSELVES.

*Qua* Bihár both my opponents and myself are foreigners, for a Bangáli is almost as great a stranger in Bihár as an Englishman. It is worth while, therefore, to see what evidence Biháris themselves give as to the facts of the case, for it is upon the facts used as premises that we advocates differ.

The *Behar Herald* of November 29th, 1881, contains a long letter from a Bihárí gentleman on this subject. It is an answer to an attack on me which had previously appeared in the *Urdú Guide*, but it was in no way prompted or suggested by me; in fact, I did not know of its existence until some weeks after its publication. It may therefore be taken as the evidence of an educated unprejudiced Bihárí witness. The letter is too long to quote *in extenso*, but the following quotation is to the point: —

"The question which Mr. Grierson has moved is one full of interest for all Bihár. Speaking generally, there have been, and there are at present, two parties in Bihár respecting its vernacular. . . . . The Sanskrit knowing men and the Pandits have proposed Sanskritised Hindí for Bihár, and the Arabic and Persian knowing men and Maulvís have in their turn put forward the claims of a high-flown Urdú. . . . . It is for Government to hear the conflicting arguments of both parties and decide. Many things that people in Europe manage themselves require here in India, in its present state, the encouragement and assistance of Government. Now, I would ask whether the Government should lend their assistance to the one or the other of the two parties above described. Certainly to neither. Because both of them plainly ignore the claims of a rich vernacular language that actually exists in Bihár, and fight for an artificial hybrid language of their own coining, . . . . as far as I can understand, Mr. Grierson advocates the cause of that Bihárí vernacular language."

That ought to be plain and direct enough, but to add further evidence on the point, I would refer my reader to the same newspaper for February 21st, 1882, where a highly educated Zamindar of Munger writes:—

"I understand that people are of opinion that Urdú is the language spoken in every family of Bihár. To tell the truth, this is not the fact In Bihár, as elsewhere, the people use their own mother-tongue. The Tirhoot men have a language peculiar to their own district, and so have the

Maggaha and Bhogepore (*sic*) men, &c., which they always use in speaking with their respective families. These are quite distinct from Urdú."

This is evidence from a Maithil-speaking witness ; now, hear what a Bhojpúrí witness writes. The gentleman is a Deputy Magistrate, a native of Shahabad,—and his evidence as to facts is the more valuable, as I believe, he differs from me in the conclusions drawn from them. He writes :—

"It appears that you have been informed by some persons that the Biháris of the higher classes, and their females speak Urdú in their daily mutual intercourse. The information is, I beg to state, as a Bihárí, wholly erroneous, and I doubt if any Bihárí holds such an opinion.

"As a rule, all the Biháris, high or low, both men and women, speak their own provincial dialect, *i. e.*, Bhojpúrí, Tirhutí or Magahí. Both the sexes of the higher classes in their mutual intercourse use the dialect peculiar to their own district. Even the Kayasths, who as a class receive a regular training in Persian and Urdú from their childhood, and leave their homes at an early period in search of employment in distant districts, talk in the dialect of their native district, with their families, servants, and friends belonging to the same district. It is only in their intercourse with Muhammadans, residents of other districts, and people with whom they are not familiar, although belonging to the same district, that they converse in Urdú.

"No doubt exceptional cases of one or two persons may be occasionally met with who, having resided in the North-West Provinces, or in some city for a greater portion of their lives, and having had less to do with people of their own district, have altogether forgotten their own mother-tongue.

"These men in their attempt to speak their own tongue cut the most ridiculous figure, and choose to speak Urdú, in which case they are always made the laughing-stock of their neighbours. It is a remarkable fact that uneducated Biháris of the Brahman, Rajput, and Bhuihar classes, even in their intercourse with strangers,* speak a mixture of Urdú and their own provincial dialect.

"I may even say that the custom of writing invitation letters in the dialect of the district in marriages, &c., to friends and relations, still prevails in the Dihát with a few exceptions.

"In conclusion, I beg to state that the females of the Kayasth class can generally read and write Kaithí, and some can read and understand Nagrí or Hindí Books. They, as a matter of course, correspond with their friends and relatives, but I do not remember to have ever heard or seen any letter in any other than the dialect prevailing in the district.

"These remarks, I hope, will fully prove that the opinion entertained by some (apparently by those who are unacquainted with the private life of the Biháris) that the higher classes talk Urdú with their females, is wholly unfounded."

The above evidence (and if desired, I can produce more of the same kind) ought to be strong enough as regards the Bhojpúrí dialect, and speaking ; now, hear what three Magadh pandits from Gayá say about the question of writing.

The following question was put : "In what language do you correspond with each other ?" The answer given is—

"Añge ham sabhaní Magahí bolí meñ ápus meñ chitthí likha

* When educated men would speak pure Urdú. G. A. G.

hí, wo Hindí kabahíñ kehú na likhíñ," which is, being translated "Be it known that we all write letters between each other in the *Magahí bolí*, and no one of us ever *(the most emphatic negative possible)* writes Hindí."

I hope the above evidence is sufficient to prove that Hindí is never used in private life in Bihár, but that Bihárí always is. I have produced witnesses of three typical classes,—the Zamindár, the Government official, and the non-English-knowing pandit, coming from all parts of Bihár, from Mithilá, Bhojpúr and Magadh, who have given evidence both concerning conversation and correspondence.

G. A. G.

## ART. VII.—VEDANTISM.

### A POPULAR STATEMENT OF HINDU PANTHEISM.

VEDANTISM is that system of Hindu thought, in which an attempt is made to resolve the complex manifestations of the universe into unity. This is just what Spinoza attempted in his "unity of substance" in the universe, perhaps two thousand five hundred years later than the Hindu effort, and it is what Hegel sought to do still later in his doctrine of "absolute identity."

Spinoza taught that all being and phenomena are evolved from some ultimate eternal unity of substance or existence. Hegel taught that there is an *identity* running through all things; hence, subject and object, the ideal and the real, the finite and the infinite, the temporal and the eternal are at base the same, and the manifestations of the universe are but a "self evolution whereby the absolute enters into antithesis and returns to itself again." These pantheists, and others who think with them, do but hold and echo what had been taught by the gymnosophists, or naked philosophers of India, as Lucian facetiously called them, ages before.

Pantheism has widely pervaded Hindu thought. This was the latest development of the speculative intellect among the Hindus in their philosophic era. They had passed through he age of polytheism, had reached the idea of a God, or something supreme over all, and ended by concluding that this supreme one alone exists. When the Hindus were permanently settled in their home in India, and the priestly caste had become a learned order placed beyond want or the necessity of manual toil, leisure brought them opportunity for contemplation and profound speculation. The question of the origin, nature, and destiny of the universe would press upon them as it always does on the human mind in a high state of development. Greek writers give us a few glimpses of the naked philosophers as they sat in profound meditation in the Indian forests: Pantheism was one outcome of their ponderings.

It is a fact, not very remarkable perhaps, that the human mind when left to mere speculation, in its attempt to solve the problem of the universe, ends in the unity of pantheism. It was so in Greece; it is so in modern Europe. The doctrine of pantheism as taught in the Upanishads, the Vedanta philosophy and the Bhagavad Gita, has exercised a widespread influence on the belief of the Hindus, different from anything we find, or perhaps ever will find, among the practical peoples

of the West. The common mass of Hindus do not now, and certainly never did, comprehend this doctine in all its subtleties. Comparatively few pantheists are met who hold the doctrine intelligently, yet a widespread notion exists that somehow God is not only over all and in all, but is the author of all and constitutes all that is or appears to be. Hence one will constantly find the most untutored Hindus affirming, that God does all, that he is responsible for all, and that apart from him there is nothing else, that every manifestation of existence is simply a part of God, and that ultimately every thing is lost or resolved in him. This will be stated by the unlearned, without any attempt to explain or understand the wonderful fact. Thus the subtleties of a system elaborated ages ago, have spread through distant generations in the form of a vague belief. Pantheism has a peculiar facination for the Hindu mind. Many cling to this when compelled to abandon other phases of the ancient faith.

The simplest form of the Vedantist's creed, contains only three Sanskrit words which may be translated, "one only essence without a second." Another statement of it is:—"All this universe is indeed Brahma; from him does it proceed; into him it is dissolved." A converted Brahmin Pundit, Nil Kanth Shastri, a man profoundly learned in Hindu philosophy, says that this forumla, as expanded and expounded by the advocates of the Vedanta system, may be thus stated:—Brahma alone—a spirit, essentially existent, intelligence and joy; void of qualities, and of all acts, in whom there is no consciousness, such as is denoted by 'I,' 'thou' and 'it,' who apprehends no person or thing, nor is apprehended of any; who is neither parviscient nor omniscient, neither parvipotent nor omnipotent; who has neither beginning nor end; immutable and indefectible, is the true entity. All besides himself, the entire universe is false, that is to say, is nothing whatever. Neither has it ever existed nor does it now exist, nor will it exist at any future time. And the soul is one with Brahma. Such is the doctrine of the Vedanta regarding the true state of existence; and it is denominated non-dualistic, as rejecting the notion of any second true entity."

According to Vedantism, and almost as Hegel taught, the universe is a succession of developments. It is an "evolution" as Spencer would say, from the homogeneous (pure unity) to the heterogeneous (complexity). It is a mental phenomenon, worthy of study, how these Indian philosophers, evolved a universe full of multiform life and being from a simple spirit essence, called Brahma, void of all qualities, of all acts, and of all consciousness.

This exploit they effected long before Spinoza and Hegel. The Vedantist begins his feat with the statement "That the one sole, self-existing, supreme self, the one eternal germ of all things, delights in infinite expansion, in infinite manifestation of itself, in infinite creation, dissolution and recreation, through infinite varieties and diversities of operation." The name Brahma given to this germinal essence, is from a root which means *growth* and *expansion.*

The Vedantin struggles as best he can through the contradictions and inconsistencies of his system. The eternal spirit essence, without attribute or consciousness or feeling, must in some way become conscious and delight "in infinite expansion," &c. Vedantins deny all attributes or qualities in the sole essence, because quality would introduce distinction according to their reasoning, and hence dualism. Besides, quality implies some kind of limitation, but the sole essence is unconditioned. In the same way this essence has no consciousness or apprehension, for these imply a *subject* and *object,* which would be dualism again. And yet they describe Brahma, or the sole eternal infinite essence, as "existence, intelligence and joy." But this is explained as sheer or abstract existence, intelligence and joy, as one might say of sweetness apart from the thing which is sweet, that it is sweetness, pure and simple, and not the quality of anything. The intelligence of Brahma must be the highest form of thought or meditation, according to the Vedant system, that is, thought without the distinction of subject and object. This is being, "without cognition." In the same way the "joy" must be an unconditioned something existing solely in and of itself. There must be no distinction between the enjoyer and something enjoyed, for this would imply dualism, the one thing constantly to be avoided. The Vedantin might say that of the nature of all this, was the infinite spirit of Christian theology, in the depths of eternity before creation began.

As we have seen, according to the Vedantin, the universe as it appears to us, is an evolution from Brahma who is held to be not only the efficient cause, that is, the producer of the universe by his power, but he is also the *material* cause of the universe, that is, the substrate, of whatever nature it may be, from which all apparently physical things are made. Various figures are used to illustrate this statement. "Nothing can come from nothing," hence the universal substrate must draw all things from himself. What the clay is to the jar, what gold is to the bracelet, what the spider is to the web drawn from it, such is Brahma to the world. Sankara, one of the chief Hindu commentators on the Vedanta system, writes :—"It may be objected that a carpenter

can make a house because he is possessed of materials, but how can the soul, being without materials, create the world? But there is nothing objectionable in this. The world can exist in its material cause, that is, in that formless undeveloped subject which is called soul, just as the subsequently developed foam, exists in water. There is nothing, therefore, contradictory in supposing that the omniscient, who is himself the material cause of names and forms, creates the world."

It may be thought that here the Vedantin must meet an overthrow of his monism, or pure unity; for, whatever may have been the beginning, we now encounter a multiplicity of separate forms and beings, which have been brought into existence by Brahma, and thus we now have dualism. But the Hindu Pantheist is equal to the emergency. He claims that the world is only phenominal. The whole phantasmagoria presented to our senses, is one vast illusion. "Brahma alone exists, all else is false," is a fundamental dogma. The converted Brahman referred to, expounds this statement thus:—"In the estimation of the Vedantins, Brahma is universally diffused, and over portions of him, the world, a thing of falsity, is actually produced. Brahma is its substrate, and its illusory material cause, and ignorance is its material cause. The world thus is false, and therefore so are its name and form. Its existence in one way is false and in another way it is true; the former, when it is viewed as the world, the latter, when it is viewed as Brahma. Hence the Vedantins maintain that the world is false, and at the same time that it is identical with Brahma, inasmuch as it is Brahma himself that owing to ignorance appears as the world."

According to this system, five words comprehend the universe, *i. e.*, existence, intelligence, joy, name and form. The first three are real; the other two are mere illusion, and constitute the world of phenomena. In discussing this subject, the Vedantin speaks of three kinds of existence, which are respectively called, "real existence," "practical existence" and "apparent existence." Real existence, it is said, can be affirmed only of Brahma the supreme soul. Besides him nothing else is reality. The second kind of existence called "practical," refers to the transactions and supposed realities of ordinary practical life. None of these really exist; all is mere illusion. The third kind of existence, the "apparent," differs from the second more in degree than in kind. By it is meant, that illusory kind of existence, in which by optical or some other kind of illusion we mistake one thing for another; for instance, a rope for a snake. Things seen in dreams, or in mental hallucinations, are classed here. The second kind of existence is held to be no more real than these, but we have

"practical" dealings with them. Practical existence is deemed real through ignorance, to which in the third kind of existence certain other mistakes and illusions are added. The special difference between these two forms of existence seems to be, that the practical has a certain kind of false reality which does not exist in apparent existence, with which we can have no practical dealings; for example, no one can bathe in a stream seen in a dream. And yet the Vedantic insists that the deception in practical existence is greater than in apparent existence, because the former seem more persistently real to us, while not being in the least more so.

We are prepared now to understand more fully what these Indian pantheists mean by the statement "Brahma alone is real, all else is false."

Naturally enough the question will come up, how did this phenomenal illusory world, which according to this system of pantheism has no real existence, come into *apparent* existence? In the answer to this question, an explanation of some obscure phrases in quotations made above will come in. Preceding the evolution of the universe, according to the Vedantin, the incomplex sole entity Brahma, willed to become multiple in the myriad names and forms and intelligences of the universe. The process of creation was effected and is maintained by a power of illusion or ignorance that can be exercised by Brahma, who by a kind of self-imposed ignorance, for his own amusement projects the phantasmagoria of the world. It is as if some powerful writer of fiction sat enjoying the phantasms of his own imagination.

The ignorance or illusion by which the phenomenal world is formed, has in it two powers, called respectively, the power of *envelopment* or *concealment*, and the power of *projection*. The first of these powers beclouds and obscures the soul and veils the understanding, so that the reality of things is lost. We must lay aside our Christian ideas of the divine spirit when we seek to understand what the Hindu pantheists say about this self-imposed ignorance of Brahma. And yet, have not even Christian writers suggested a kind of abdication of knowledge by Deity in some matters. Clarke the commentator, advanced the opinion that God did not choose to foreknow the fall. Chevalier Ramsey held the opinion that God does not choose to know contingent events.

Of the *projecting* power of ignorance the Vedantins say that just as ignorance produces the illusion of a snake and raises up its form on a rope, so this ignorance exercised by Brahma, projects or raises up the phenomenal universe on the soul enveloped by it. Individual souls are thrown from it by the supreme soul and become the subject

of this illusion. Referring again to our converted Brahmin, he says on this point: "With reference to the soul, the Vedantins hold, that though it is Brahma, yet being subject to illusion or ignorance it has forgotten its true nature, and, looking upon the internal organ and the body as real, and identifying itself with them, considers itself to be man, and the like. And, although all things in vicissitudinous life are false, from ignorance, soul thinks them true, and calls some of them mine, and the rest others, and imagines some things make it happy, and that others render it miserable."

Thus a universe of phenomena and experience has come into existence. It is a curious fact that according to the Vedanta philosophy, the evolution of the material or physical universe is in something of the same order indicated by the nebular hypothesis as may be seen in the following quotation from the Vedantsār, a treatise on the pantheistic philosophy by one of the most successful native expounders: "From intelligence associated with ignorance attended by its projective power, in which the quality of insensibility abounds, proceeds ether, from ether air, from air heat, from heat water, and from water earth. As the Veda says, 'from his, from this same-self, was ether produced.' The prevalence of insensibility in the cause of these elements is inferred from observing the excess of inanimateness in them."

Vedantins hold that the individual soul while separated from the supreme soul, is encased in a succession of sheaths or bodies enclosed one within the other. The first may be called the intellectual sheath, the next is the mental sheath, and the next is the vital sheath. These three constitute the subtle body which attends the pure spirit or fragment of Brahma in its rounds of transmigration. Over this subtle body is a fourth, the gross frame composed of the coarse elements assimilated from food, and which is animated from birth to death. There is something here faintly resembling the three-fold organization of body, soul and spirit, advocated by some Christian writers. Some German writers are now conjecturing that there is a subtle soul-body enclosed in the body of flesh and blood.

According to the Vedantin, salvation is deliverance from these successive spirit encasements, so that the liberated spark may mingle again with the universal divine flame. How to unravel these subtle coils, and arouse from the enchanted dream of ignorance, is the great problem of life. Deliverance is achieved by certain sacrifices, by religious exercises, by asceticism, by pious meditations leading to a perfect knowledge of the nature of things and of the sole divine reality.

T. J. Scott, D.D.

*Bareilly.*

## ART. VIII.—LEGENDS FROM THE MURREE HILLS.

THE name Murree is well known to all Anglo-Indians as that of the Hill Station, which until lately the Panjab Government used as its summer resort. It has been applied under the English to the Sanitarium itself, the range of hills in which it is situated, 7,000 feet, to 8,000 feet and to the *tahsîl* of the Rawâl Pindî district of which it is the head-quarters. The station and the *tahsîl* are clearly of English origin, and I think the name itself, as a general one, is an English invention. The hills appear to be really great spurs of the Pîr Panjâl or Mid-Himâlayan ranges, and, as usual, to have had no generic native name. When the English, soon after the conquest of the Panjâb, fixed on a point as a Sanitarium in 1850 and called it Murree, they gave the whole range or spur the same name, and by this it is now generally known.

The individual hills have, of course, separate names. Thus there is the Marh (*marhî*) Hill, whence the Sanitarium takes its name, the Paphûndî, Kotlî, Karor, and Panjâr Hills in its neighbourhood, besides Topâ, Tâbbâ, Giriâl,* etc., and the Galîs (Gullies), which last are situated mostly on the road to Abbotabad Cantonments, 40 miles distant. There are several of these Galîs, *e.g.*, among others, Ghorâ Galî, just below Murree, and Kairâ Galî, Chaunra (*Anglice* Changlâ) Galî, Dûngâ Galî, and Bâra Galî on the Abbotabad road. The word Galî as applied to a hill is not very clear. It is, however, common in the district, and turns up again in Jhikkî Galî on the Kashmîr road, Dân Galî on the Jhîlam, the old head-quarters of the celebrated Gakkhars in the days of their power and in the Mârgalâ Pass. Galî may be the same as giri, a hill, or mountain, to be seen in so many compounds. Monier Williams, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* says, "*giri*, said to be from root *grî*, perhaps originally *gari* or *garu*." And with it may be compared the neighbouring name of a hill Giriâl. But the word is usually taken to mean a neck (*gal*) of land, a watershed, divide, or saddle.

The Post Office and officially correct spelling of the Sanitarium name is "Marri" or "Marî," and I have seen مزري (*sic*) on the *chuprâs* of more than one chuprâsî in the place. As regards the spelling "Murree," I have nothing to say, except that it has

---

* Not Ghariâl as usually spelt this name by the young lady visitors to Murree. and pronounced. Garry Hall is another favorite pronounciation of

become fixed now just as Calcutta, Bombay, Bassein, Lucknow, Cawnpore, &c., are fixed and recognised, but "Marri" or "Marî" I think quite wrong, and I submit that the proper and correct spelling should be Marhî (مرهي or मढ़ी.) This I will now endeavour to prove.

Murree, as above said, takes its name from the Marhî Hill, now called by the English Pindî Point, and still by the natives the Marhî or Marh Hill. The Marhî Hill is so called from the *marhî* hill temple or sacred place on its summit, still in the possession of a Brahman. There are many *marhs or marhîs* all over the Panjab Himâlayas, whether the Pîr Panjâl or the Dhaulâ Dhâr, and among the Gaddîs or Hindu shepherd class of the Kangrâ and Chambâ Districts, the word means also a house, thus—

*Ajjî Gaddî terâ marhe bich nahînon.*

To-day thy husband (*lit.* shepherd) is not in the house, is from a Kângrâ folksong in my possession. The usual meaning now for *marhî* is a hill temple, jogî's hut, or other sacred or haunted hill-side house. This word I would trace thus: Diminutive *marhî* from *marh, marhâ* or *marhwâ*=*madhâ mandhâ* or *mandhwâ* = *mandhap* and *mandap* (still in modern use), from the Sanskrit *mandapa*, a temple. The general senses of the above words, all in actual use, are a temporary building or nuptial bower, a hill temple or jogî's hill-side hut. The word *mandapa*, Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, article मण्ड derives from (probably) *manda* and *pâ*, which would mean the place for the keeping of the ornaments, the place of festival. The root *mand* means to dress, clothe, ornament, adorn. The processes necessary for the change from *mandapa* to *marhî* seem to me to be reasonable and legitimate. Other forms of *marhî* still in use are *manraiyâ, marhaiyâ* and *maraî*.

I would further remark that the word appears to exist in the same sense in the name of another Sanitarium, *viz.*, Pachmarhî in the Central Provinces, situated in the Mahâdeo hills in the Hoshangâbâd district. The *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 388, says, "there are some interesting ancient temples at Pachmarhî." This might be expected from the name. Again, as regards the name Marhî, Major Cracroft, *Settlement Report of the Râwal Pindî District*, 1875, pp. 9, 10, secs. 32, 33, says, in describing what he calls the "Murree Mountains," that the most remarkable ranges are the Murree Mountain with its raised trees and views, the Puffoondee Mountain covered with *pinus*

*excelsa* and the Murh Mountain with its extensive plateau, extraordinary geological formation and copious springs of water, etc."

In Murree, as elsewhere, there are now two sets of names for the different hills, one native and the other English. Thus we have Asylum Hill, Pindî Point ( Ma*r*hî Pahâ*r*), Barrack Hill, Terrace Hill ( Pânch Pâ*nd*û), Pinnacle Hill, Cashmere Point Sunny Bank, etc.

Mountains all the world over are especially the home of folktales, and nowhere more so than in India, and signs are abundant about the Murree Hills to show that they are no exception to the rule. Thus Major Cracroft writes ( p. 10, sec. 35) of the lower Murree ranges. "Further south the mountains change in aspect ; they are less lofty and more irregular, but still adorned by beautiful trees ; their shapes become more diversified and angular, sometimes pyramidal ; the valleys are broader and there is more cultivation ; the villages and hamlets are picturesquely placed on the hill-sides in nooks or on projecting spurs, and occasionally the ruins of an old castle recal the bygone splendours of a Gakkhar chief, or a fort the tyranny of the grasping Sikh. Altogether the scenery, though less grand, is more picturesque. Few excursions could be more delightful than a tour from Rawal Pindî *viâ* Chirrah, Murree, Kahûtâ, Owan (on the Jhîlam), Beor, Nârâ, Sâligrân, Kallar, Dân Galî (on the Jhîlam ) to Gûjar Khân on the Grand Trunk Road." Would that one had the opportunity of sitting on the hill-side beside some Gakkhar castle and gathering from the old crones of the neighbourhood the marvellous tales they would be sure to have of its origin and of the deeds performed by its owners ! I have not been able to do this, but what tales I have been able to gather, wonderful enough in their way, will be related in the course of this article.

Passing over times very long gone by, from the Greek occupation to that of the Mughals, the more recent history of Murree is involved in obscurity, as indeed that of the whole of this part of India is, distracted as it has been by conquest, misgovernment and party feuds for many centuries. Up to 1770 A.D. these hills were practically in the hands of the Gakkhars, a mighty tribe in days gone by, who, it is curious to note, now claim Persian descent from (?) Kai Kâûs of the Kaianian dynasty, * laying claim to their possessions as a gift from

* Cracroft, *Settlement Report*, says from "Khyr-Gowher, Khyanee." There was no such monarch, *vide* lists at p. XXVI of Brydge's *Dynasty of the Kajars*, 1833, and in Beales' *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.*, Kai Kubâd. I fancy Kai Kâûs is meant, which monarch is said to have reigned 150 years ! Sir W. Jones with justice called the Pishdadian, or first Persian dynasty fabulous, and the second, or Kaianian, poetical.

Mahmûd of Ghaznî in A.D. 995, in whose train they say that their ancestor Gakkhar Shâh "came over." This story is clearly legendary and militates against the doubtless truer tale that 30,000 Gakkhars, taking the side of Prithvî Râjâ in 1008 A.D., nearly succeeded in staying the advance of Mahmûd in the Chach plains. The changes are, that they are an aboriginal tribe, who, according to Hunter (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 45), were forcibly converted to Islám by Shahâbuddîn Ghorî about A.D. 1205.

They appear to have been easy masters and to have well treated the hardy and warlike tribes, Dhûnds, Satis, Dhaniâls, Khetwâls, and others over whom they ruled. In 1770 the Gakkhars were completely overthrown by the Sikhs, and hard times came upon them and their subjects, for rapacity and tyranny were the only representation of Government they saw, until their misfortunes reached a climax, when, what are now the Murree and Kahûtâ *tahsîls*, were given to Gulâb Singh, the Kashmîr hero, as a *jâgîr* about 1831, soon after the hill tribes had been finally subdued by the great Sikh Sirdar, Hari Singh Nalwâ. The awful tyranny exercised by the Kashmîr Mahârâjâ depopulated these hill districts, and they are only now recovering their former prosperity. "It is said, that whenever the *zamîndârs* were recusant he would let loose the Dogras among them, and rewarded the former by a poll rate for hill-men of at first one rupee, then eight annas, and finally four annas, and that he thus decimated the population. Other tales are told of his cruelty in these and other *ilâqâs*, which, if true only in part, would class him with the Neroes and Caligulas of the human race. A general door-tax (!) he levied was so unpopular, that the people rebelled and were visited with severe retribution." From this misery they were released by the advent of British rule in 1848-9, when Gulâb Singh's possessions in the Rawal Pindî district were exchanged for other lands across the Jhîlam and the merciful taxation of Major Abbot brought them relief.*

The tribes of the actual Murree Hills are mainly Dhûnds, Satis, Dhaniâls and Khetwâls. They are all Muhammadans, like the bulk of the Rawal Pindî population, and are, at any rate, the Dhûnds, considered *sâhûs*, or "gentlemen" by descent, as opposed to *zamîndârs* or "labourers." Their legends of their own origin are as interesting and as unlikely as that already mentioned of the Gakkhars.

The Dhûnds, and with them the Jasgams and Kutrîls, say that they are descended from 'Abd-ul-Manâf, the ancestor of

---

* Cracroft: *Settlement Report*, sections 171-81, 194, 312 and 342.

Muhammad the Prophet,* and they claim their possessions from one Zuber, unknown to history otherwise, a descendant of the Prophet, who came from Arabia and settled near Kahûtâ. However, Major Cracroft considered them converted Hindus, as no doubt they are.† He says that they are a treacherous, fickle and dangerous population, but that the Satîs are a finer and more vigorous race. The Dhûnds went against us in the Mutiny, giving some trouble, but were severely dealt with in the end.‡

Their hereditary enemies the Satîs claim a longer occupation of the soil and a descent from Nausherwân the Persian.§ The Dhûnds, however, tell a very different tale regarding them. They say that a child of a Hindû Dhûnd (!) named Kallû Rai,‖ by a slave girl was born *en route*, at the foot of the Marh Mountain (near Murree), as the parents were travelling westward from eastern parts across the Jhîlam. They deserted the child there, as they had lost their way, and it was picked up three days afterwards by a Brahman (!), who called it Sat, or Steadfast Faith. Sat became the progenitor of the Satîs. This tale, by the way, would give the Satîs also a Hindû origin, as is, indeed, more than likely the true state of the case.

The Khetwâls go back much further than the Dhûnds and Satîs for a legendary origin, and say they are descendants of Alexander the Great (!), and hence naturally that they were in Murree long before the other tribes. They are very few in number now, something under a thousand, but they stood by us in the Mutiny days and were rewarded by a light assessment. There is a noteworthy story told to account for their decimation. A certain woman of theirs called Ab eloped with a strange man across the Jhîlam and was hotly pursued by the tribe, who consequently left their homes unprotected. This gave a chance to the Dhûnds, who came down and destroyed every thing and every body. Meanwhile the pursuers came to a frozen lake, and mistaking it for hard ground, began to cook on it, which melted the ice and

---

* 'Abd-ul-Manâf Qureshî was the father of Hâshim, father of 'Abd-ul-Muttâlib, father of 'Abdullah, who was the father of Muhammad the Prophet.

† Major Wace, whose admirable *Hazârâ Settlement Report* of 1876 contrasts so favorably with Major Cracroft's *Rawal Pindî Report* of 1875, places their conversion at quite a modern date.—paras 17, 18, pp. 58-9.

‡ The natives in the Murree Bazar told me, I cannot say with what truth, that George Battye hanged 150 of them in one morning.

§ Nausherwân reigned A.D. 531 79, and, supposing the Dhûnds to be as they say Arabs, they would come over sometime during the Arab occupation of Sind, A.D. 713-871. According, then, to their own traditions, the Satîs could not have long, if at all, preceded the Dhûnds in these parts.

‖ It is to be observed that this legend opposes the Arab origin of the Dhûnds and supports the correcter belief as to their Hindû origin.

the party was engulphed. Another version is that, after destroying the homes of the Khetwâls, the Dhûnds found the remainder so reduced in strength, that they were able to destroy them, too. Hence arose a proverb:—

*Ab lore,*
*To sab chhore.*
**Search for Ab and lose all.**

The Dhaniâls claim practically the same descent, and doubtless in one sense rightly, as the Dhûnds, Jasgams and Kutrîls, for they say that they are descended from 'Ali-ul-Murtaza, or in other words, that they are Sayyids (!). * They are a turbulent lot and have given much trouble since the accession of the British rule.

Lastly, there is an inferior tribe called the Trûnds, said to be the offspring of Satîs, Dhûnds and Jasgams by low caste wives and concubines. They are few in number and insignificant.†

Let us now return to the Marhî Hill, and we shall find that on the extreme summit of Pindî Point, 7,266 feet, and exposed to every wind, is a small flat open space 20 yards north and south, by 18 yards east and west. On the east side some sandstone rocks crop up inclined at a steep angle, as are all the rocks forming the ridge. A strong loop-holed watch-tower of stone, some 20 or 30 feet high and 16 feet square inside, has been built by the English over the *marhî* which itself appears to have been previously only an open hollow about 16 feet square and 3 feet deep on the hill top. It is now boarded over and is under the floor of the tower. It is entered through an open trap-door, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, by a short ladder of 3 rungs and consists of the ordinary rock floor, on which some rough flat stones from the neighbouring rocks are lying. These, when I saw the place, were covered with bunches of dead wild flowers and some red lead (*sindûr*), and near them were collected a quantity of small unbaked earthen *chirâghs*, lying in heaps, but otherwise the place was empty.

For sometime after it was built, the tower was used as a police barrack, but the guard has been removed to a more convenient and less exposed spot. The natives, however, say the removal took place owing to the displeasure of the guardian spirit of the place at something the guard did. The tower consists of two stories, the upper one being in a fair state of preservation, but the lower floor is very rickety and broken down in places, and the entrance to it is delapidated. The upper floor is reached from the outside by a ladder of eleven steps and can also be reached by a trap-door from the inside. The outer door of it is of strong wood and is

---

* 'Ali was the son of Abu-Tâlib, who the son of 'Abd-ul-Mûttâlib and brother of 'Abdullah, the father of Muhammad the Prophet. 'Ali was therefore first cousin, as well as son-in-law to Muhammad.

† Cracroft's *Settlement Report*, secs. 218, 220-6, 342-6,

now unlocked, consequently it flaps in strong winds, which the natives say is a miracle, *i. e.*, they suppose that the spirit of the place shuts and opens it at will.

In the popular idea the tower was built by the English for the benefit of the public, who visit it as a holy place. This notion is, however, clearly wrong, as it was evidently built for defence.

In the rocks to the east is a small hollow in which I saw some stones spotted and marked with red-lead and the inevitable unbaked earthern *chirâghs* lying about. It is said to have been the dwelling of the *faqir* whose doings here have made the place celebrated and sacred.

Near the rocks, too, are the rough walls of a roofless native hut, and foundations and signs of former huts are abundant all about the place. The summit of the hill can be reached with ease by pathways from all sides, and is surrounded at a lower level by European houses.

The *marhî* has become famous from the miracles performed there by an old *faqir* in days gone by, regarding whom a very curious legend is told. It is now in charge of a Brahman of the Rawal Pindî District of the (?) Gokalîâ Gosâîn Got, who does not live there, but is *pujari* of Munshi Bishambar Nâth's temple or *Mandar* in the Murree Sadr Bazar. He comes to it every month at the full moon, during which a sort of fair is held by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. The Hindus offer milk and *halwa*, and the Muhammadans bring sheep and goats, which they slaughter on the spot, and also sweetmeats. Whatever is brought by the devotees must be distributed among themselves and eaten then and there. None of it, not even the cooked flesh, may be taken away. If it is, it will go bad, and some calamity will overtake the offender. The usual pice are laid down for the benefit of the guardian Brahman. The Hindûs worship the place as being sacred to Râjâ Karan,* and the Muhammadans because the say that the *faqîr*, who used to live there in Râjâ Karan's time, can bring them salvation, but there is no god or *dev* attached to the place. The story of the connection of the faqîr with Râjâ Karan and their doings at the *Marhî*, forms the subject of the following legend :—

## I.

### *Legend of the Marhî on Pindî Point.*

Once upon a time there lived a faqîr† in the Marhî who used to keep up the sacred fire‡ there, and every morning Râjá Karan,

---

* *Karna* was the half-brother of the Pandavas : *see* Legend.

† The man was always called a *faqîr*, not a *jogî*; this, however, does not mean much, as now-a-days both *faqîrs* and *jogîs* are Hindus and Musalmans indifferently.

‡ *Dhûni* is the fire lighted by an ascetic for the purpose of inhaling the smoke as a penance.

who lived in the days of Râjâ Bikramajît used to come and see him. Now, in the mornings the faqîr used always to keep some oil frying in a large pan on his fire, and when Râjâ Karan came to him, he used to take him and throw him into the pan, and then fry and eat him. After this he would collect the bones that remained and bring them to life again. As a reward for submitting to this pleasant process, the faqîr used to give Râjâ Karan 125 lbs.* weight of gold every day, and this the Râjâ used to give away in charity before he had anything to eat, nor would he break his fast until he had obtained his gold and distributed it. When he got accustomed to it, he used to come to the faqîr and throw himself into the frying pan without a word.

One day it so happened at the Mânsarobar Lake,† where the swans live, eating nothing but pearls, that the pearls failed, and there was a famine. So the swans had to leave the lake, and one pair flew away and alighted in the garden of Râjâ Bikramajît at Ujjayin. The gardener came and told him that a pair of swans had come into the garden, who would eat no kind of bird's food. So the Râjâ went into the garden to see for himself and asked the swans why they would not eat bird's food.

"We do not eat grain," they answered, "or fruit, but only unpierced pearls. Our home is in the Mânsarobar Lake, where we eat nothing but pearls."

Whereupon the Râjâ took to feeding them with as many pearls as they wanted from his own hand every day, and they continued to live in his garden for a long while. But one day as the Râjâ was feeding them as usual, one of the pearls turned out to have been pierced and the swans found it out at once. And from this they knew that Râjâ Bikramajît was running short of pearls and they determined to go northwards again. So they said to the Râjâ, "we want to go to the North, where the Râjâs are faithful and true." But the Râjâ wanted them to remain saying, "I will do all I can for you, but if you want to go—go."

So they went to the North, and it so happened that while Râjâ Karan was distributing his 125lbs. weight of gold as usual, the

---

* *i.e.*, a maund and a quarter.

† The great Lake of Mânasa-sarovara, has been famed from all time. It is the Tsho-mâphan of the Tibetans, and is situated in the Kailâsa Range of the Himâlayas. It occupies 16 square miles of country, and according to Cunningham, is with its neighbour, Lake Râvana-hrâda, the source of the River Satlaj; but according to Dowson, the latter only is the source of the river.—*See* Cunningham's *Ladâk*, pp. 128-36 and Dowson's *Classical Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, *s.v.* It is the original fabled home of the haṇsa or râjhaṇsa, which may be as well translated swan as any thing else. The haṇsa is universally supposed, as in this tale, to live on pearls alone, whence the majority believe that it lives somewhere on the sea coast in the direction of Lanka or Ceylon.

swans flew over the village of Chitrâdûgâ where the charity was going on. This village is 4 or 5 miles to the North of Murree, and the swans as they flew over it called out in praise of Râjâ Bikramajît, "glory to Râjâ Bikramajit! Glory to Râjâ Bikramajit!" Râjâ Karan heard them, and had them caught by a bird-catcher with lime and put them into a cage, saying, "I should like to know who he is that is greater than I, that the birds should praise him so much."

He had every kind of bird's food placed before them, but they would not eat any of it. So the Râjâ asked them why they would not eat, and they answered, "there is nothing we could eat in the food that has been placed before us. We can only live on pearls."

So the Râjâ gave them pearls to eat, but they would not eat them. Again the Râjâ asked the reason, and the female swan said to him, "what harm have we done that you have imprisoned us? And besides Râjâs only imprison males and not females, so at least you might let *me* go. If Râjâ Bikramajît were here, he would release us both at once."

So the Râjâ let her go on her promising faithfully to return. She at once flew to Râjâ Bikramajît's garden, and the gardener went to the Râjâ and told him that one of the pair of swans had returned. He went at once into the garden and asked the swan what had become of her companion. She began to weep and said, "we were flying past Râjâ Karan's country, and as we flew along we praised you loudly. He heard us, and had us both caught and put into a cage, and he has only let *me* go on my promising faithfully to return in a few days. So I have come to ask you for help." Hearing this, the Râjà said to her, "have something to eat first, and then return whence you came. I will go myself and free you."

So the swan flew back to Râjâ Karan, and he locked her up again with her husband. Presently Râjâ Bikramajît arrived in the garb of a servant and took service with Râjâ Karan calling himself Bikrû.* He soon learnt all the secrets of Râjâ Karan's house, and found out where and how he got the 125lbs. weight of gold for his daily charities.

---

* This form of name shows the lowly state that the Râjâ had assumed. The termination û is a diminutive sign, and is used in the names of children, and low caste or insignificant people, *e. g.*, the name Devakî Nandan would become Nandû, Shiv Diyâl would become Shibbû, and so on. Thus also the old name Parasu-Râma is the modern Paras Râm and familiarly Parsâ, and diminutively Parsû, whence the proverb—

*Is daulat men tîn nâm*
*Parsû, Parsâ, Parsâ Râm.*
According to station are these names,
Parsû, Parsâ, Paras Râm.

So one day when Râjâ Karan went as usual to see the *faqîr* at the *Marhî*, Bikrû followed him. He saw the whole thing, how Râjâ Karan jumped into the frying pan of oil, was cooked for half an hour, and then eaten by the faqîr. And he saw, too, how the faqîr joined the bones again and restored them to life.* After this he saw the faqîr take his ragged old coat and shake out if it 125lbs. of gold. And then Bikrû knew that he had found out the whole secret.

A few days later Bikrû cut himself in several places and sowed into the cuts pepper, salt, spices, some pomegranate seeds and flour of pulse. He then went to the faqîr, half an hour before Râjâ Karan's time for his visit, and jumped into the frying pan.

In half an hour the faqîr took him out and eat him and was very pleased, as he found him very good eating indeed, saying, "I never had such a dinner before."

He then brought Bikrû to life and said,

"I am so pleased that I will do whatever you wish." Then said Bikrû, "I have been having myself cooked every day to please you, suppose you give me something that will enable me to live comfortably at home and give daily charities as well."

So the faqîr gave him his ragged coat from which he used to shake out the gold, and Bikrû took it away to Râjâ Karan's house.

Later on Râjâ Karan came himself to the faqîr for his gold, and found that the frying pan had been thrown aside. So he asked him what had become of the oil and frying pan.

"Who are you," said the faqîr.

"I am Râjâ Karan," said he.

"Indeed," said the faqîr, "I have nothing to say to you, what had to be done has been done."†

Râjâ Karan returned home very thoughtful, and taking some gold from his palace, gave the charities as usual.

But in three days all his gold was gone, and then the Râjâ laid himself down to die as he had no gold left for his charities, and would not eat food until his charities had been given away.

For three days he remained without food, and Bikrû came to him and said, "it is all nonsense dying like this—you should have something to eat." But the Râjâ would not eat, and at last became very bad indeed, and then Bikrû said, "if you had your 125lbs. weight of gold would you eat?"

---

* The idea of such resurrections are common, and are ascribed to most saints in India. The *corpus vile* is, however, usually a horse; we must look, I think, to the *aswamedha* sacrifice for an origin of the notion.

† "*Jo karan thâ, so kar gayâ,*" being a play on the name Karan. However, in Sansk, *karna* would not mean "a doer," but "an ear." Etymology is not a strong point with the modern Indian story-teller.

And the Râjâ said, "yes."

Then Bikrû shook his ragged coat and out came 125lbs. of gold, and the Râjâ gave to the Brahmæns and eat his dinner.

But he asked his servant Bikrû where he got the 125lbs. of gold from.

"I will explain," said Bikrû, "when you bring the swans to me that are shut up in the cage."

So the birds were brought and placed before him, and then Bikrû took off his ragged coat and laid it beside him and said, "I get the gold by shaking it from this ragged coat. If you will let these birds go, I will give it you. I am not Bikrû, but Râjâ Bikramajît."

Then Rájâ Karan let the swans go, and Râjâ Bikramajît handed over the coat. And for this reason Râjâ Bikramajît's fame is noised over the whole world. (!)

Historical accuracy is never a quality to be found in the genuine folktale narrator, and I may say, inventor. Râjâ Karan is the classical hero, Karna and Râjâ Bikramajît is the famous Râjâ Vikramâditya of Ujjayini, and by no possibility could they have been contemporaries. Karna was the son of Prithâ or Kuntî by Sûrya, the Sun, before she married Pândû, and so was half-brother of the Pandavas, but he took the part of the Kauravas against them and was eventually slain after a terrific combat by Arjuna. He was king of Anga, or Bengal, and it is difficult to see how he came to be living in the North of the Panjab, but as the Pandavas and their race are common property all over India, I suppose one must not cavil at this. Vikramâditya lived many centuries later and is well-known as the founder of Sambat era B. C. 57.

One more point, Ujjayinî or Ujjain was the ancient and famous capital of Mâlwâ, and is now a large but decayed town in Mahârâjâ Sindhiâ's (Gwâlior) territory. It is a *very* long way from the Murree Hills with which this tale connects it.

To turn to another part of Murree. The Sadr Bazar was built under the English in 1850-3, that is, about 30 years ago. The following short story about it was told me by a very respectable old gentleman, one Sukhâ Confectioner, now Chaudhri of the Corn Market, who evidently believed in it.

## II.

## *A Story of the Murree Sadr Bazar.*

My name is Sukhâ, and I am a confectioner by trade, and now I am Chaudhri of the Corn Market in the Murree Sadr Bazar. What I now relate I saw with my own eyes, and any number of people at Murree will bear out my story.

About 24 years ago, when Mr. (George) Battye was Magistrate, and the Sadr Bazar was only 6 years old, a wonderful thing happened. A dreadful supernatural Being began to haunt the bazar. Some people said it was a demon, some a jinn, some a dead shopkeeper, while others said it was a carpenter who had recently died. The Being always came in the winter, especially on snowy nights, and used to go into any shop he chose and take every thing out of it, and the curious part of it was that he used to arrange the goods on the road outside as if he were going to set up shop on his own account. He was never bothered by heavy weights, and constantly lifted out bags of grain weighing from 2½ cwts. to 4 cwts.* and placed them in the road. He never did any harm to the goods nor did he even mix them, but placed them out exactly as they were arranged in the shop. The only things he stole were *ghî* and butter, and these he used to eat. He did this for 3 years whenever the snow fell, and, though the shopkeepers had had enough of it, they could never even see him.

But one year during the festival of *lorhî*, in the month of Poh, just before the month of Mâgh began, and after the midnight fires had been lighted and the people were going home, † Târâ Singh, a shopkeeper and I sat talking together in front of my shop till about 2 in the morning. The fires had been lighted just in front of my shop, so we could see pretty well. Târâ Singh is still alive, but has left this place and keeps a shop in Rawal Pindî.

While we were smoking and talking we saw the Being go into my shop and put his head right into a vessel of *ghî*, where it got stuck. So he began struggling and making a noise. I thought at first it was a thief, and called to the neighbours for help, and several of them came running up with torches. And then we saw that in the *ghî*-pot was stuck the Being and that, it had four legs. So we got three tent ropes and tied it up to a wooden post in the shop, and I broke open the *ghî*-pot with a big stick and then let loose the Being's head. We did not see the face, but it had long ears like a donkey. As soon as it was free of the pot, it jerked itself loose from the post and went off,

---

* 3 to 5 maunds.

† This would be about the 15th January. The *lorhî* is the Pânjabî ceremony of burning fuel during the last few hours of the month, just before the sun enters into a new sign of the zodiac *(shankrânt)*. The *lorhî* has no reference to any god or deity, and seems to be little more than a superstitious custom. Wood is collected at the town or village *chauks* and burnt; the people worship these fires and eat reorî, a small kind of sweetmeat. The expense is defrayed by general subscription.

ropes and all. When it got outside it began looking about at the people collected round it, as if dazed.

We sent a man at once to call Mardân 'Ali, the Kotwâl, who had a fancy for keeping leopards and bears and other wild animals, but before he came up, the Being gave a jump and went off. When Mardân 'Ali arrived and heard all about it: he was much astonished.

But from that day to this the Being never come again into the bazar or to the Murree Hills. It had marks on its body like a leopard, and was about the size of one.

The chances are that it really was a leopard. They are still to be found in the neighbourhood in cold weather, and were doubtless plentiful in the early days of the station.

The word used by the narrator for "Being" is very interesting and noteworthy. It was *shae*. Now *shae* or *sae* (शै or شی or سی) in the hill districts of the Panjab, means a supernatural being, a demon or ghost. In tracing it the dictionaries give no help, nor do they even quote it. The Lodiânâ *Panjabi Dictionary* has "से, *se*, a contribution levied by bards, faqîrs and Brahmans." And also "sêwadâr, a bard, faqîr or Brahman, who levies contributions on individuals, and ceases not to worry them till payment is made." These words I am told have their origin from the idea that the faqîr or Brahman can call up the *shae* at will to annoy those who will not give, and on the other hand, can remove the *shae* which afflicts those who are charitable. The only derivation I can suggest for the word is the Sanskrit *sava*, a corpse, dead body, from the root *sav*, *sí* or *svi*.

The next legend takes us away from Murree itself to the neighbourhood, or rather *environs* of Rawal Pindî town. About 10 miles to the North of Rawal Pindî is a place of great local celebrity, called by the Hindus Râmkund or Râma's Pool, and by the Muhammadans Saidpur.* The spot is green and pleasant and well shaded by banian, *jâmun* and *tûn* trees, and there is plenty of water; "enough to work a water-mill," an expression which in a Panjabi's mouth means plenty and abundance. A temple to Râm Chandar makes it sacred in Hindu's eyes, but it is moreover a great *tîrth*, or place of pilgrimage. Those who have the time and inclination go there on every holiday *(parb)*, and annually on the 1st of Baisakh † at the *shankrânt*, or

---

* The *Târîkh-i-Makhzan-i-Panjab*, p. 320, calls it Nûrpur Sayyid, perhaps to distinguish it from Nûrpur Shâhân, for which see next tale.

† About 15th April.

entrance of the sun into the new sign of the zodiac, there is a great fair. All the meetings are attended alike by Hindus and Musalmans, as is so usual in these parts. The Hindus go to bathe, and the Musalmans apparently because there is amusement and an outing to be got. The bathing places consist of five tanks or pools, *viz.*, Râm Kund, Sîtâ Kund, Hanumân Kund, Lachhman Kund and Sûrij Kund, but for some occult reason the Hindus will not bathe in the Sitâ Kund.

About 2 miles to the East of this is another *tîrth* or place of pilgrimage where the people go on holidays to bathe and give charities to the officiating Brahmans. This place is a Gupt-gangâ. Now a *gupt-gangâ*, which appears to be a modern word, is, as its name implies, a pool or silent reach in a mountain river, in which, though the water is running, it looks still and motionless. *All* such places are looked on in the Himâlayan districts as sacred to the penance of some Rishi or saint.

The peculiar sanctity of Râmkund is due to the penance said to have been performed there by Vis'vâmitra. The native tale is that "during the penance of Vis'vâmitra at Râmkund, Râm Chandar and Sîtâ appeared to him, *as is related in the Bhrigu-Sanhitâ.*" This looks very circumstantial and we are given, as it were, chapter and verse for the legend. However, I regret to say, that on investigation the penance of Vis'vâmitra at this place, together with the very book which relates it, vanishes into thin air! I could not hear of any such book as the *Bhrigu-Sanhitâ*, and through the kindness of Dr. Hoernle, I ascertained from Pandit Jogindra Nâth Tarkachuramoney, the Asiatic Society's Pandit, that no such book as the *Bhrigu-Sanhitâ* existed, and that the *Bhrigu-Smrita*,* number 1613 of the Society's Library, which is in existence, says nothing about Râmkund and Vis'vâmitra. So much for the book, and as regards the fact or fable of Vis'vâmitra having performed penance at any such place as Râmkund, it seems that no old book makes any mention of it. Of course, for modern purposes, anything can be twisted out of old Sanskrit texts, as they are so confusing, conflicting and delightfully vague. For instance, Valmîki, *Râmâyana*, chapters 57 to 65, *Adi* gives a complete account of Vis'vâmitra's penances, and says he performed them North, South, East and West, or as we should say in English "all round the compass," but the natives will not allow this and consider that, given *x* as a meridian, the intermediate points of the compass are not intended, and that as the Panjab is not North but North-West, he did not perform in the Panjab. Let us be content to let the matter rest there.

---

* *See* Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, Trübner's Ed., pp. 17–20.

Owing, however, to the habitual uncertainty of the Sanskrit scriptures, Vis'vâmitra may, in this connection, stand for three other persons, *viz.*, Bhrigu, Jamadagni and Parasu-Râma, and the question arises, did any of the above perform penance at Râmkund? The Pandit before mentioned answers no, not as far as he knows. So we may fairly assume that the present sanctity of the place is due to a reading of an old text, and this, after all, is all that can be said of most such places.

A further dive into the matter brings us into one of these 'messes and mixing up of stories' one is pretty sure to find one's self in the further one goes into Hindu mythology. Vis'vâmitra was one of the mythological representatives of the Kshatriyas in their great struggle with the Brahmans, represented in this case by Vasishtha. He was probably really a Kshatriya of the Lunar race and a descendant of Puru, but as the books represent him after his defeat by Vasishtha as becoming a Brahman himself through the austerities he practised, a left-hand Brahman descent has been found for him thus: Gâdhi,* king of Kanyakubja (Kanauj), had a daughter Satyavatî, who was married to Richîka, an old Brahman of the race of Bhrigu.† Richîka prepared two dishes, one for Satyavatî and one for *her* mother. These were to make the former to bear a son with the qualities of a Brahman, and the latter, a son with those of a warrior. The dishes were changed and the *mother* bore Vis'vâmitra, a Kshatriya, with the qualities of a Brahman, and the daughter bore Jamadagni, a Brahman, with the qualities of a Kshatriya. Jamadagni was the father of Parasu-Râma, the Brahman destroyer of the Kshatriyas. It should be remarked here that both Jamadagni and Parasu-Râma are sometimes named Bhrigu as well as the Muni, who founded the whole Bhargava race.‡

Vis'vâmitra became connected with the Lunar race from whence the Kauravas and Pandavas sprang in the following manner. During one of his penances he was seduced by the nymph *(apsaras)* Menakâ, and by her became the father of the far-famed Sakuntalâ, mother of Bharata, from whom were descended the Kauravas and Pandavas, who fought out the great war of the Mahâbhârata. Thus they were his descendants.

The local legend records his connection with the Solar race by saying that Râma and Sîtâ appeared to him during his penance.

---

* Gâdhi was the son of Kusanava, son of Kusa, son of Brahma, Valmiki, *Ramayana*, ch. 51, *Adi*. 18, 19.

† But see story in the *Kalkipurana*, where Bhrigu himself, in place of his descendant Richîka, is made out to be the hero of the tale.

‡ Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, Trübner's Ed., pp. 148, 240, 241, speaks of the Bhrigus in the plural as a family.

From this, one would infer that he lived *after* them. However, mythology does not support this. He seems to have lived a long while, for we find him living in the reigns of the following Solar kings of the Ayodhyâ (Oudh) dynasty, *viz.*, Trisanku, Harish-Chandra, Sudâsa, Saudâsa and Dasaratha, who were respectively 28th, 29th, 49th, 50th and 60th in the line, the great Râma Chandra himself being the 61st. From 28th to 61st of a line means, by ordinary computation, 31 generations or 1000 years! Vis'vâmitra, moreover, does not seem to have been under any necessity to invoke Râma and Sîtâ, for according to the *Râmâyana* he was Râma's *gurû* when he went to marry Sîtâ, and it was at his instigation that Râma was sent by his father Dasaratha to fight Râvana.

The legend told about Râmkund is as follows:—

## III.

### *A Legend of Râmkund.*

Râmkund became famous in the time of Râjâ Mân of Amer in Jaipûr, who lived in the days of Akbar the Emperor. It was here that he lived with his troops in a cantonment he had made for them and instituted the great Râmkund fair. All the while that he was at Râmkund, his wife lived in the palace at Amer with his mother, and in order to visit her, Râjà Mân used to go every night on a demon's* back to Amer, and so secret was he, that even his mother knew nothing about it. Every evening he used to start, and every morning he was back again in Râmkund. After a time it began to be clear that his wife was pregnant, and that made his mother very frightened. So she asked her daughter-in-law how it was, and then Râjâ Mân's wife explained how he used to visit her every night, and how the child was his.

Meanwhile Râjâ Mân was ordered by the Emperor Akbar to march to Peshâwar and punish the place for something the people had done. When he got to Atak he saw that the river was very swift and impossible to cross. So he wrotê a letter to his mother at Amer that he had intended to cross the Atak (Indus) and conquer Peshâwar, but that the river was so difficult, that he would have to give up the attempt. But his mother answered him, "If you could go from Amer to Râmkund and back in one night, why cannot you cross the Atak?" And she sent him a verse—

*Sabhî bhûm Gopâl kî,*
*Bich Atak nahin koe:*
*Jin Atak kar mânio,*
*Atak rahegâ soe.*

---

* The word used was "*shae*," as explained in the previous tale.

The whole world is God's,
No one is stayed within it:
But who wishes to be stayed,
He alone will be stayed.*

As soon as he got his mother's letter, Râjâ Mân felt very much ashamed, and crossed the Atak that very night and conquered Peshâwar, Kâbul and Kandahâr so completely, that his laws are obeyed by the Musalmans there to this very day.

And the laws he made were these:—First, that men should sleep face downwards†; second, that all swords should have wooden handles only; third, that men should wear caps *(topîs)* on their heads. And so it is to the present day.

Now it happened that somewhere to the west of Kâbul, where the frost is very severe, that Râjâ Mân lost his nose from frost-bite. This misfortune made him so ashamed, that he never returned home and the end of the great warrior was that he died alone in the western deserts.

The laws made by Râjâ Mân are so charming and his end so pathetic, that one feels sorry to demolish the whole story by enquiring into it. But unfortunately, although Râjâ Mân Singh and Akbar lived barely 300 years ago, the Panjábi tale is opposed to all history. The Kachhwâhâ Râjpût prince Râjâ Mân Singh was the adopted son or nephew of Râjâ Bhagwân Dâs of Jaipûr, who again was one of the three sons of Râjâ Bihârî Mall that entered Akbar's service. Akbar married Raja Bihârî Mall's daughter, so that Râjâ Mân Singh was his relative. He was one of the most conspicuous of Akbar's generals, and fought for him in Orissa, Bengal, Assam and Kâbul. He was also, at various times, Governor in the Panjab, Kabul, Bengal, Behar and the Deccan. The capital of his native State of Jaipûr was the then splendid Amber or Amer, the present grand old palace of which was begun by him about 1600 A. D. and finished by the celebrated astronomer Râjâ Sawâî Jai Singh, who however transferred the capital to the present Jaipûr in 1728 A. D. In 1579 A. D. Mân Singh, as Governor of the Panjab, was defeated by Akbar's brother, Muhammad Hakîm Mîrzâ, then ruler of Kabul, and Akbar himself had to come up to drive his brother from the country again. After this Mân Singh's father Bhagwân Dâs was appointed Governor of Kabul and the Atak Fort was rebuilt. In 1586 A. D. Mân Singh was deputed to fetch away from Kabul the children of Muhammad Hakîm Mîrzâ then deceased. About this time his sister married Akbar's eldest son, afterwards the Emperor Jahângîr, and thus his connection with the

---

* Atak in Hindi means a stoppage, hence the play on the word.

† Ondhe mûnh sonâ.

Royal Family became closer than ever. In the same year 1586 Akbar's favorite, the celebrated Râjâ Bîrbal Singh, was killed in an expedition against the Afghans, but in another direction Mân Singh was completely successful in the Khaibar Pass near Peshâwar. Meanwhile, Bhagwân Dâs was sent to Kashmir, but met with only partial success. However, in 1589 Kashmir and Kabul were finally annexed by Akbar, and it was while he was still at Kabul, that he heard from Lahore of the death of his great financier Râjâ Todar Mall, and five days afterwards of that of Bhagwân Dâs. In 1593 we find Râjâ Mân Singh, as Governor, overthrowing Kutlagh Khân in Bengal and Orissa, and in 1600 commencing his palace at Amber. He died at last in 1614, while Governor, at some place in the Deccan. Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary, s. v.*, says that Mân Singh had 1500 concubines and that all of them bore him children. I leave this extraordinary statement and apparent physical impossibility for those who care to investigate it. Sixty of Râjâ Mân Singh's concubines are said to have committed *sati* at his funeral. If this is true, it is probably the largest *sati* on record.

The verse about the Atak is a well known one, and as *atak* means a stoppage, or barrier, the play on the word is natural. It is also probably the origin of the name of the river itself, which has been a barrier to the Hindus from all time in more senses than one, for not only is the river wide, swift and dangerous, but crossing it meant loss of caste to the orthodox. Witness our own experiences in the Afghan war of 1839. It is said, that the verse quoted in the tale was invented by Râjâ Mân Singh in order to overcome the prejudices of his soldiers about crossing the Atak. It usually runs thus :—

*Sabhî bhûm Gopâl kî,*
*Tâ men atak kahâ*
*Jâ ke man men atak hai,*
*Soî atak rahâ.*

The next legend takes us about two miles to the south of Râmkund, while keeping us still at the foot of the Hazârâ Mountains, to a place known as Nûrpur Shâhân. As at Râmkund, water is here abundant and sufficient to drive a mill, and the place is well surrounded with date trees and cypresses. During the last 60 years a large fair has been held annually here, lasting for three weeks from the first Thursday after the 15th Baisakh * or *Baisakh badî dasmî*, or according to the Musalman calculation the 8th Jamâd-us-sâni for the current year. It is principally a Musalman fair and consequently great

* About the 1st May.

numbers of sheep and goats are slaughtered at it. Ecstasies and frenzy (*hâl*) are not unknown, though I do not know what should bring them about. Hindûs, too, attend the fair and bring sweetmeats.

The Nûrpur horse fair at Rawal Pindî takes its name from this one, and attempts have been made to make the horse-fair coincide with the regular Nûrpur fair, but they have been unsuccessful.*

The fair commences on the arrival of a *dâlî* or offering of every kind of fruit in season from Peshâwar, and until this arrives the fair cannot begin. It is held in honour of the tomb of Shâh-i-Latîf Barrî †, which saint is said to have been "a pupil of Sayyid Hayât-un-Nûr, grandson of Ghauns-ul-Azim, of the great Shekh family of Qâdiriâ saints."

Ghauns-ul-Azim was Shekh Abd-ul-Qâdir Gîlânî, founder of the Qâdiriâ saints. He died in 1166 A. D. at Baghdâd. I am unable to find any trace of a grandson of his called Hayât-un-Nûr, and this name is probably fabulous. The chances are that Shâh-i-Latîf Barrî is strictly a local celebrity.

## IV.

### *Legend of Nûrpur Shâhân.*

There used to live at Nûrpur Shâhân a faqîr called Barrî Sultân, who was daily supplied with milk by a Gujjar. But the buffalo from which the milk came always used to die on the day it was milked for the saint. At last all the milch buffaloes belonging to the Gujjar died and he had only one bull left alive. So he went to the saint and asked him what he was to do.

"Milk the bull," said the Saint.

So the Gujjar milked the bull, and he too died. Then he went to the saint and said "What shall we do now?" "Go to the nearest spring," said the Faqir, "and call out the names of your cattle one by one and come back without looking once behind you."

The Gujjar did as he was told and called out the names, not only of all the cattle he had lost, but of those of a good many others as well. As he called out the names of his own buffaloes, they all sprang up from the spring and followed him, and as he took them away with him, he looked round to see if the others were following him as well, and lo! all the strange buffaloes were turned into stone, and there they are to the present day.

---

* Cracroft's *Settlement Report*, sec. 98.

† *Ibid. Târîkh-i-Makhzan-i-Panjâb*, *p.* 320. Barî in Arabic means holy, sinless, stainless.

The story of milking a bull when a saint happened to want milk and could not get it is not uncommon, and I have heard it told also of the great saint Sakhi Sarwar Sultan. It was one of the miracles he performed at Saudhara in the Gujranwala district. It is most probably a Hindu notion.

We are now taken Northwards to a mountain, about 13 miles south east of Abbotabad and 23 miles from Murree, called at Murree Mahoshpuri or Salvation Hill.* It is just above the Sanitarium of Kâlâbâgh. It is well wooded with *deodar* and is lofty enough for the snow to lie permanently in its hollows. This, the people say, is taken thence in to Murree and on to Rawal Pindî. But as the distance to the latter place is 62 miles, this sounds like a fable. They also say that Lahore can be seen from the summit, but as the height of the hill is only 9,232 feet,† the statement must be sheer nonsense.

On the summit of the hill is a Pânduân dâ Sthan, or place sacred to the penance of the Pândavas. Here it is said they were visited and tempted by the celestial nymphs or *apsarases*, who still visit the place according to the old Brahman in charge, for he says he has seen them. The English have made a foot-path up the hill for the benefit of the many devotees who go up it, as they pass the place *en route* to Abbotabad and elsewhere. On this hill, too, are said to be many medicinal herbs (bûtî) and shrubs, for which people came from all parts of the Panjab and, regarding one of these, the following extraordinary tale is told—

## V.

### *A Story of Mahoshpurî.*

I, Gangâ Râm Munshi, used to be in the service of Sardâr Ganesha Singh, who had a large contract for the supply of firewood and timber. I had always heard that there was plenty of wood to be got on Mahoshpuri for the mere cutting, and I had also heard that if any one were to cut down or tamper with a tree called Barkhar, he would lose all the hair on his body, and moreover get very ill. The people said that when cut, it yielded milk, which blistered the body where it touched ; and not only that, even if any body sat in the shade of it while the milk was exuding, he would become covered with blisters. In fact they said it was unwise and dangerous to sit in its shade at any time. The common people are very fond of telling these stories, and there is very often only imagination to be found in them, so I laughed at it as an

* Mokshpurî. Major Wace, *Hazara Settlement Report*, p. 5, sec. 10, calls it Mochpuri.

† Wace, *Hazara Settlement Report*, p. 5, sec. 10.

old wive's tale and went off to Mahoshpurî to get my wood, thinking to make a grand bargain for my master.

Well, it was about two years ago that I started on the expedition to Mahoshpurî to cut wood, and when I got there the coolies refused to cut the Barkhar, so I went up to the first Barkhar tree and gashed it myself. And then I learnt a lesson, for what the people had said was only too true. I was very ill for six months and lost all my hair, and it was only when I got well again that it gradually came back to me. If you doubt my story, you have merely to go to Abbotabad Hospital and enquire, for it was there that I lay so long.

I have not been to Abbotabad Hospital to enquire, but I still have my doubts as to the accuracy of the Munshi's statements, although the events related are so recent. In the first place, his hair, when I saw him, was as plentiful as that of other people. This could hardly be the case if 18 months previously he had lost it all by illness. Next the Bar*k*har tree is not peculiar to Mahoshpurî or even to India, being the *Celtis Caucasia* of the botanists. Its usual Indian name is the Batkar,* and it is to be noted that bat=bar=Sanskrit *vata*, the banyan tree. Now, the tree called the *Celtis* in Latin was the African *Lotos* tree, known also in Italy as the nettle tree. It is a low thorny shrub of the *zyziphus*, or jujube-family, and as a contrast to the notion regarding it at Murree, I would remark that its fruit is the Fruit of Paradise in Arabic poetry, and that the tree is accordingly much prized in Tunis and Tripoli to the present day ! † Superstitions, exactly the reverse of each other regarding the same object, are not uncommon in the world. For instance, in Northern England the village bride must not have a single *pin* in her dress as she goes to church to be married, while in Southern England the more she has the better : indeed, her dress is there more pinned up than sewn. Thus, in the one part the pin is lucky, and the other it is unlucky.

Pândûân dâ sthâns, or places when the Pândavas performed penance are not uncommon in the Himâlayas, and there is one on the summit of the Terrace Hill, 7,400 feet, in Murree itself, close to the Badminton and Lawn Tennis Courts. It consists of a small square place, 22 yards north to south and 20 yards east to west, situated on the magnificently wooded summit of the hill. In this space is built up a small square, of rough walls, made of loose rock chippings, 20 feet by 22 feet on the outside. These walls are 3 to 5 feet high on the outside, and from a foot to

---

* Wace, *Settlement Report*, p 12, see 21.

† *See* Smith, *Lat. Dict. s.v.* celtis and lotus; Liddell and Scott *Greek Lex. s. v.* λώτος and the authorities quoted by them.

18 inches high on the inside. Within the raised space thus enclosed are some loose stones, stumps of old trees, and some offerings of flowers and leaves lying about. Within it also grows a young *chîr* tree on which are hung a quantity of those votive rags (*tûl*) so common in India.* This is all that the shrine consists of.

I happened to see the worship at the place which is typical and simple to a degree. It consists merely of bringing an offering of flowers and leaves, walking round the place once, and distributing some *halwa* and sweets to any people who happen to be present. The little urchins of the neighbourhood frequent the place of a morning for the sake of the distribution of sweets, which is pretty sure to take place.

At every *Shankrânt* there is a sort of fair for the benefit of the persons in charge of the *Sthân*.

No particular story is attached to this place, called by the natives Pânch Pândû, except the inevitable one, that the attempts of Europeans to build bungalows there have failed. But a tale I heard regarding it is worth recording. The first Commissioner at Murree and the person who laid out the place in 1850, was Mr. Edward Thornton. The site he selected was that on which the house called The Terrace now stands, but it happened that this was occupied by the Pândûân dâ Sthân known as the Pânch Pândû, so he hit upon the device of calling all the people together and explaining to them and persuading them, that the real spot where the penance had been performed was more to the north about 200 yards. The Sthân was accordingly removed to where it now is, and Mr. Thornton built his house. Another version is, that he tried to build his house on the site of the Sthân where it now is, but was prevented by the *Pîr* in charge. However, there is no room at the present Pânch Pândû for such a house as The Terrace, whereas its present site and grounds are ample.

It seems nevertheless that the whole tale is a fabrication, and is based on the fact that just behind The Terrace is an old Musalmân tomb to some faqîr to which pilgrimages used to be made, but which have practically ceased since the occupation of the site by the English.

The presence of these Pândûân dâ Sthâns in the Himâlayan districts is not difficult to account for, and is due directly to the story of the *Mahâbhârata*. In the first place Pândû, the Pale, died in the Himâlayas in solitude, accompanied only by his wives, Kuntî or Prithâ and Mâdrî, who there bore the five celebrated

---

* See Walhouse, *Indian Antiquary*, IX, pp. 105-3, on this point. for the authorities

sons, known as the Pândavas, to various gods. The Pândavas were, however, recognised by Pândû as his own children. In the next place, long afterwards, when the Pândavas succeeded in the great struggle for the possession of Hastinâpura (Delhi) with their cousins, the Kauravas, and the eldest of them Yudishthira was placed on the throne of his fathers, the old blind king Dhritarashtra, elder brother of Pândû, and therefore uncle of the Pândavas and father of the Kauravas, retired into the jungles from sorrow and shame. There he died with Gândhâri and Kuntî, the mothers respectively of the Kauravas and Pândavas, in a forest fire. After this Yudishthira abdicated his throne out of remorse and departed with the Pândavas to the Himâlayas for Mt. Merû, as is so grandly related in the *Mahâ-prâsthânika-Parva*, the 18th book of the *Mahâbhârata*. The numerous Pândûân dâ Sthâns in the Himâlayas probably, therefore, represent either the places where Pândû himself is supposed to have performed penance, or the place where the Pândavas are supposed to have halted during the "great journey."

The presence of Apsarases, or celestial nymphs, at these Pândûân dâ Sthâns is equally easy to account for. They were nymphs of Indra's heaven, produced at the churning of the ocean, and are represented as being of easy virtue. They were occasionally sent by the gods to seduce heroes, as in the case of Urvasî and Purûravas, or sages from their penance, as in the cases of Menakâ, who seduced Vis'vâmitra and of Rambhâ, who attempted it, and who was eventually ravished by Râvana. In modern times the Apsarases are said to visit any place, where a sage or hero has done penance (*tap*).

R. C. TEMPLE.

## ART. IX.—INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS IN OUDH AND NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

AMONG the questions suggested for the examination of witnesses before the Educational Commission, which commenced its sittings in Calcutta at the beginning of the present year, the following question on the subject of Indigenous schools holds the fourth place:—

"To what extent do Indigenous schools exist in your province? "How far are they a relic of an ancient village system? Can you "describe the subjects and character of the instruction given in "them, and the system of discipline in vogue? What fees are "taken from the scholars? From what classes are the masters of "such schools generally selected, and what are their qualifications? "Have any arrangements been made for training or providing "masters in such schools? Under what circumstances do you con"sider that Indigenous schools can be turned to good account as "part of a system of national education, and what is the best me"thod to adopt for this purpose? Are the masters willing to ac"cept State aid and to conform to the rules under which such aid "is given? How far has the grant-in-aid system been extended "to Indigenous schools, and can it be further extended?"

It happens that an enquiry upon all of the above points was made in the province of Oudh about nine years ago. Mr. Browning, the late Director of Public Instruction, was called upon to prepare a scheme for aiding and improving the Indigenous schools. But before he had had time to mature his plans, he was transferred to the Central Provinces, and the matter was then handed over to myself. As I was at that time quite new to this part of India, it was thought advisable, before preparing any scheme of my own, to have a searching enquiry made as to the extent and character of the Indigenous schools then existing in Oudh, and from the facts thus elicited to determine whether or not anything could be made of them for the purpose desired by Government—the extension of Primary education among the masses. The Deputy Inspector of schools in each of the 12 districts of Oudh was therefore directed to visit every Indigenous school within the area of his own district, and respecting each school so visited to obtain an answer to each of the following questions:—

(1.) How long has the school been in existence?

(2.) Of what caste, age, profession and religion is the teacher or teachers?

(3.) Is the school of a permanent or a temporary character?

(4.) How many pupils were in the school at the time of the visit ?

(5.) What is the average attendance ?

(6. Are any registers kept? If not, how was the information as to average attendance obtained ?

(7.) To what classes of the community do the pupils belong ?

(8.) What is the average age of the pupils attending ?

(9.) Is the school open to outsiders generally ? If not, with whom does the admission of pupils rest ?

(10.) What is the object for which the school is maintained ?

(11.) What fees are paid, if any ?

(12.) Are any pupils paid to attend ?

(13.) What is the teacher's income, and from what source (such as fees, endowments, gifts, private patronage, &c.,) is the income derived ?

(14.) Has the number of pupils, so far as can be ascertained, increased or diminished during the last ten years ? State all the causes of increase and diminution as the case may be ?

(15.) By whom was the teacher appointed, or did he set up the school on his own account ?

(16.) What are the books, languages, and subjects taught ?

(17.) What degree of proficiency have the pupils attained in reading the Arabic, Persian, or Sanskrit books used in the school (if any such are used), and in explaining the sense ?

(18.) What degree of proficiency has been attained in reading other books of the same language or languages as the above, but not used in the school ?

(19.) What amount of proficiency has been attained in reading Urdu or Nagri from books not seen before, and in explaining the sense ?

(20.) What progress has been made in penmanship, and what kind of character is used by the pupils in writing ?

(21.) What progress has been made in writing from dictation ?

(22.) What kind of Arithmetic is taught, if any, and what degree of proficiency has been attained ?

(23.) Does the teacher appear to be anxious to accept Government aid, and if so, on what conditions ?

(24.) What kind of building is the school kept in, and who is owner of the building ?

Every Indigenous school that could be found in Oudh, in the year 1874, was examined with reference to the foregoing questions, and the answers obtained were in most cases clear and decisive. There is, however, one kind of Indigenous school, about which no statistics were collected. I refer to the schools of the higher Mahomedan learning, which is pursued only by adults, and which

affects only a very small section of the Mahomedan community. This kind of institution bears the same relation to the other Indigenous Mahomedan schools, that Colleges do to Primary and Secondary schools in our own system. These higher studies are seldom pursued in any other city of Oudh except its capital, Lucknow, and there, so far as I have heard, chiefly in the quarter called Farangí Mahal, where the most learned class of Maulvís resides. They consist of Arabic language and literature, Logic (Mantiq), Human Physiology (Tib), Mahomedan Law (Fiqua), Religious Tradition (Hadís), Philosophy (Hikmat), &c. Lucknow ranks with Delhi as one of the great centres of Mahomedan learning in Upper India; and young men from all parts of Hindustan flock into this city for the purpose of acquiring as much knowledge as the learned Maulvís are able to impart to them. The whole course is seldom completed in less than 14 years, and few have the means, even if they had the patience, for remaining for so long a period in the state of pupilage away from their own homes and pursuits. No attempt was made to collect statistics as to the number of teachers or of pupils engaged in such studies, as the object of the enquiry then being made was to discover whether Primary education could or could not be extended through the medium of those Indigenous schools, which were attended by boys, and which professed to teach a less ambitious course. The following remarks contain the substance of the report based on the replies to the 24 questions quoted above, and submitted to the Oudh Government in February 1875.

The Indigenous schools of Oudh and of Upper India generally consist of two main classes :—

I.—Mahomedan schools or maktabs.

II.—Hindu schools or patshalas.

The distinction does not hold good in all respects. At least one half of the Mahomedan schools are both maintained and attended by Hindus of the Kayth caste; (Hindus of other castes have very rarely any connection with them): but even in these, the teacher employed is a Mahomedan and the language taught is Persian, the favourite language of Mahomedans and Kayths. Again, there is a kind of Hindu school, which is attended by Mahomedans of the trading class; but natives of the trading class are chiefly Hindus, and the kind of instruction is the same for both.

The teachers at Mahomedan schools or maktabs may be distinguished into three classes. *Firstly,* professional Maulvís, Miyánjís, Hakíms or Mullás, who teach secular books with or without the addition of the Qurán. Of these some maintain schools of their own as a means of livelihood, others take employment as tutors in private families. *Secondly,* Tálib-ul-ilm Maulvís,—young

men, who resort to the Farangí Mahal, Lucknow, from different parts of Hindústán, in order to pursue the higher learning described above, and who set up temporary day-schools as a means of subsistence during their sojourn. *Thirdly*, Hafizjís,—men, who as the name implies, know, or have the reputation of knowing, the whole of the Qurán by heart, and whose educational aims are purely religious. Many men of this class are blind: (hence Hafizjí has become a synonym for a blind man); others are weavers, who are sometimes seen reciting the Qurán to the pupils standing by, while they themselves continue working; others are professional Maulvís, who have abandoned the teaching of secular literature.

Teachers at Hindu schools or patshalas, are of two different kinds, each widely different from the other; *firstly*, Brahmins, who teach only Sanscrit, and this only to men or boys of their own caste; *secondly*, Hindus of the Kayth and other castes, and occasionally Mahomedan traders, who teach Bazár Arithmetic, and the corrupt form of Nagrí writing, which is called Kaithí. The Kaithi teachers, like the Maulvís described in the preceding paragraph, sometimes take employment as family tutors, and sometimes set up schools on their own account. They are known by various different names; Gurují, when they are Brahmins by caste; Bhaiyají or Lalají, when they they are Kayths or Banyas.

The two main classes of Indigenous schools noted above may now be sub-divided each into 3 sub-classes, answering to the different kinds of teachers just described:—

| | | | | Schools. | Scholars. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mahomodan | Persian | Private | ... | 503 | 2,251 |
| | | Independent | ... | 60 | 497 |
| | Arabic | ... | ... | 39 | 225 |
| Hindu | Kaithi | Private | ... | 41 | 232 |
| | | Independent | ... | 50 | 627 |
| | Sanskrit | .. | ... | 63 | 506 |

Class I.—Private Maktabs.

The first class of Mahomedan schools, then, are private maktabs or family schools, in which the male children or relatives of the head of the family are taught by a private tutor engaged for that purpose. The children of outsiders are, however, occasionally admitted: but this depends upon the will of the employer. The tutor receives a fixed monthly salary, with board and lodging; the salary ranges from Re. 1 to Rs. 8 or 10, and varies according to the means of the employer or the reputation of the teacher. In addition to this, if any outsiders are permitted to attend, he is allowed to receive as a perquisite any such remuneration in fees or gifts as they may be able to give. In most cases the tutor's income from all sources combined is very small, seldom more than

enough to keep him from actual want; but for the smallness of his emoluments he is to some extent compensated by being treated at all times with great deference and addressed by the flattering title of Maulví Sahib. Maulvís are entertained in this way for more purposes than teaching. It is considered by Mahomedans and Hindu Kayths a mark of respectability to keep such a person in the establishment, and his assistance is needed by the head of the family to help him in the management of the estate. When the male children of the family have ceased to be of an age fit for pupilage, the services of the Maulví are often retained for these collateral purposes. His position in the establishment is not unlike that held in England in the 17th century by the domestic chaplains entertained by country squires, a class of men of whom Parson Supple kept by Squire Western in *Tom Jones* may be taken as an example. In Mahomedan families the child is introduced to his tutor at the age of 5 or 6 by a ceremony termed Bismilla; but actual instruction is seldom commenced till two years or so later.

The system of secular instruction is the same in Private as in Independent maktabs. The aim of both is to teach the art of reading and writing Persian. A lad's education is considered complete, when he is able to write a Persian letter, to read the Persian classical poets, and to make out a letter written in shikast, the broken running hand. This standard covers about the same ground in native Mahomedan education as that covered by Middle schools in the Government system. This course is seldom completed in less than 10 years, and in many cases is never completed at all. "I have seen many boys," as the Deputy Inspector of Partabgarh reports, "who have been learning for some 10 or 12 years, and who are yet quite unable to write two lines correctly." This is due to several causes. Some fathers are indifferent whether their sons learn well or not; others are unable to know a good teacher from a bad one, when they engage a tutor; and when a bad teacher happens to be selected, he takes good care that his pupils shall not learn too fast and exhaust his stock of knowledge at an inconveniently early date.

As soon as a child has mastered the alphabet, he is at once set to read either the Qurán or Persian, the former in Mahomedan families only. The Persian course is the same in Mahomedan and Hindú families alike, and may be divided into 4 stages. In the *first* stage the books studied are Kháliq Bári, Karima, Mamuqiman and Mahmúd Náma. These books are more difficult than those read in the later stages. The pupil simply reads the text again and again, till he can repeat it fluently with the book before him. Of the sense he knows nothing; for the teaching of meanings is

systematically neglected in this stage. In the *second* stage the books read are Amad Náma (a manual on the conjugations and inflections of Persian verbs), Dastur-us-Sibyan, or some other standard Persian letter-writer of equal difficulty, Bostan and Gulistan, both by Sâdi, the former a poem, and the latter a prose work intermingled with poetry. In this stage it will be observed that Grammar and explanation are to some extent taught, and the teaching begins to be rational; the mode of teaching, however, is very mechanical, and the pupils seldom do anything but learn by rote. In the *third* stage the pupil studies the more difficult letter-writers, such as Insha-i-Madho Rám, Insha Khalifá, and others. Simultaneously with these he studies Masuaní Ganimat or Zulikhá. In the *fourth* stage the pupil reads Bahár-i-Danish, Sikandar Náma and other standard works, such as Abul Fazl, Qasaid Urfi, &c. This is all that is done in the way of reading. The Vernacular, it will be seen, is not taught at all, except indirectly through the Persian. Even that little is done badly; for the only mode of translating from Persian to Urdu practised in maktabs is bald and literal, and no such thing as idiomatic Urdu composition is attempted. The neglect of the Vernacular is due to several causes. Vernacular scholarship is not considered a literary accomplishment, as Persian is by the natives of Upper India. The character of Urdu and Persian being the same, it is considered a waste of time to teach a child the Vernacular, which he will learn in any case, with or without the help of a teacher. It is believed, too (not without reason), that a knowledge of Persian is indispensable to any one who wishes to understand the language used in the courts, or to take up any kind of literary employment, of which Urdu forms the basis. However circuitous, slow, and indirect the process may be, it is invariably found that a student, who has completed the Persian course and has been under an energetic teacher can read and understand at sight any ordinary Urdu book, and write an Urdu letter with a fair degree of facility, correctness, and perspicuity, just as in England in classical schools, in which English is never taught, a boy acquires a ready mastery of English through the study of Latin.

The other subject taught in maktabs, besides the reading of Persian, is the art of writing letters of business in the same language. Penmanship, however, receives less attention on the whole than reading does. The day is divided into 3 sessions. A prose author is studied in the morning for 3 hours. Writing is practised from about 12-30 to 3 P. M. Poetry is studied from 3 to 5-30 or 6. The various stages by which the art of writing is acquired, are like those of reading, 4 in number: (1) The student learns to shape the letters of the alphabet and the various combinations of them

during the first stage. (2) As soon as he commences to read Amad Náma and Dastur-us-Sibyan, he begins to practise what is called imla-writing, that is, copying words and sentences taken from his reading book. This practice is continued, till the pupil can copy out, in a neat hand, whole lessons from Dastur-us-Sibyan. (3) As soon as a pupil enters the third course of Persian reading, he learns by degrees what is called haqíqat-writing; which is, that the teacher gives him orally in Urdu the substance (haqíqat) of what he is to say in his letter, and out of this he constructs an original composition in Persian. (4) In the fourth stage, the pupil is practised in writing more difficult letters; he also takes lessons in reading letters of business (maktúb) written in shikasta, the broken running hand. When the arts of reading Persian authors, of writing Persian letters, and of deciphering shikast letters have been acquired, the pupil's school training is considered complete. After this, if he wants to learn more, he must repair to some learned Maulví in Farangí Mahal, Lucknow city, or elsewhere.

Arithmetic is seldom,—practically it may be said never,—taught in maktabs. Most of the Maulvís, certainly as many as 95 per cent., are not acquainted even with the principles of Numeration. In the whole of the literary course, the study of which lasts for 10 or 12 years, nothing is presented to the student's mind respecting the common facts of nature, and nothing in the way of History or Geography, except what little of the former can be gathered from the historical or quasi-historical poems studied near the close of the course. Yet the maktabs or Mahomedan schools (secular) are the best of the Indigenous schools in this part of India. "The education given in maktabs," as the Deputy Inspector of Partabgarh remarks, "is considered to be far superior to that given in any "other class of Indigenous schools: and there certainly seems much "truth in this opinion; for this kind of education turns out better "men, more clever, and more independent than are to be found "among either Kaithí or Brahmani students."

The statistics relating to the Private maktabs, or family tutorships, may be summed up under the following heads:—

*(a.)* The total number of Private maktabs in Oudh in June 1874 was 503, the total number of pupils receiving instruction was 2,251, and the average number of scholars to each tutor or family teacher was 4·5. As registers are not kept, there is some uncertainty as to the statistics of attendance; but the figures cannot be far wrong, as the Deputy Inspector first wrote down the number of pupils whom he saw present, and then what the teacher conjectured to be the average daily attendance. Whenever the 2 statements differed, which was

not often, I added half the difference to the number actually present.

*(b.)* The average number of years, during which each school had existed, was 4·8 years. The schools, therefore, as might be expected, are of a most ephemeral nature, dependent merely upon the will of the head of the family, and lasting only so long as his sons continue to be of an age fit for pupilage.

*(c.)* In two hundred and eleven of these Private maktabs, that is, in 42 per cent. of the total, one or more of the pupils present could read, and explain the sense of, an Urdu book of moderate difficulty not seen before. In two hundred and sixty-three, that is, in 52 per cent. of the total, one or more of the pupils present could write an easy Urdu sentence from dictation without making bad mistakes.

*(d.)* Out of all these 503 schools, only fifteen, or less than 3 per cent. taught Arithmetic: and even this figure is misleading: for in most instances, when a boy was found to possess some slight knowledge of addition or multiplication, it turned out that he had been for some time previously a pupil in a Government school.

Considering that 10 years is the amount of time generally required for completing the Persian course, and that the average longevity of each school examined was less than 5 years, and that the Vernacular is taught only indirectly and incidentally through the Persian, the results attained, as regards reading and writing the Vernacular, are quite as good as could have been expected.

Class II.—Independent Maktabs, (Secular.)

The next class of Mahomedan schools consists of those kept by professional Maulvís on their own account, and devoted either wholly or in part to secular teaching. The system of teaching in these Independent schools is the same in all respects as that followed in the Family schools. The aim of both is to teach the art of reading and writing Persian. The teachers, too, are men of entirely the same stamp as those employed as private tutors in families, except that in the Independent maktabs the teacher is sometimes a native doctor, who combines medical with tuitional practice.

The following are the chief results elicited as to the number and status of the Independent secular maktabs existing in Oudh in 1874:—

*(a.)* In the whole of Oudh there were only 60 secular Independent maktabs; the total number of pupils receiving education was 497; and the average number of pupils

to each school was 8. In the Kheri and Fyzabad districts no schools of this description were found in existence, and in the Gonda district only one.

*(b.)* The average number of years during which each school had been in existence was 5·6 years. The schools are therefore of a very ephemeral character. In reckoning up this average, I omitted 4 or 5 schools of an exceptionally long duration, in order to avoid giving a false impression as to the average permanence of the rest. For instance, one school was reported to be 200 years old, and another to be 300 years old. It is doubtful how far these figures can be trusted, and in any case to have included them in calculating the average would have given a wrong result as to the average permanence of the rest. The few schools, whose longevity contrasted with the short lives of the rest, were supported by endowments. The unendowed schools are almost as ephemeral as the family tutorships.

*(c.)* Thirty-five schools were teaching Persian only, and 25 Persian *plus* the Qurán. The latter are the schools attended by Mahomedans. The former are attended partly by Mahomedans, and partly by Hindu Kayths.

*(d.)* In 39 schools, that is, in 65 per cent. of the total, one or more pupils were found able to read and explain an Urdu book of moderate difficulty, and to write easy sentences from dictation.

*(e.)* In one school only was Arithmetic being taught, and this only up to the multiplication tables.

The teachers in the Private maktabs, as I have shown, are supported by their employer, besides occasionally receiving fees from the sons of outsiders. In the Independent maktabs, on the contrary, they have to rely entirely upon the fees and presents which they can collect from their pupils, except in cases where there is some endowed property attached to the school. Endowments, however are rare. In the Lucknow district there is 1 endowment, in Rae Bareli 1, in Partabgarh 1, and in Sitapur 1. There may be a few more; but Deputy Inspectors could not always obtain a distinct answer to their enquiries on this subject.

Class III.—Independent Maktabs (religious).

The remaining class of Independent maktabs, consists of those maintained for purely religious purposes. In these schools the only book taught is the Qurán. Here the education is not merely gratuitous, but the pupils are fed and sometimes clothed. The statistics collected concerning these schools showed that in 1874 the number

of schools was 39, the aggregate number of scholars 225, the average attendance per school 5·8, and the average duration of each school 9·7 years.

As the exclusive aim of these schools is to teach the Qurán, no pupils were found able to read or explain either an Urdu or a Persian author. For the same reason no boys could either write or count. The teachers are sometimes men afflicted with blindness, and in one school (namely, one of those in the Bahraich district), the pupils, too, were all blind. But this does not prevent the latter from acquiring what the teacher desires to impart, namely, the power to repeat the Qurán by heart. Explanation and translation are designedly omitted, as being irrelevant and even obstructive to the aims of the teacher.

With two exceptions, all the religious maktabs are supported by private liberality,—sometimes by the teacher himself, but generally by one or more persons, who put their funds together for the purpose of maintaining the teacher and his scholars. Weavers work as they recite. Two schools, namely, those two which were found in the Bahraich district, are supported by endowment. Possibly there may be a few more of this class; for the teachers were not always willing to say how or by whom they were supported.

**Classes IV & V.—Kaithi and Mahajani schools, Private and Independent.**

The two next classes of Indigenous schools are the Kaithí schools, Private and Independent. As the system pursued in both is identical, they need not be considered separately. All that is taught in these schools is Kaithí writing and the bazar system of Arithmetic. In many of the 91 schools found in existence in 1874 the mode of writing taught is not Kaithí but Mahájaní, both of which are corrupt forms of Nagrí. Kaithí writing is the form used by the landed class and by village accountants; Mahajaní by bankers, money-lenders and shop-keepers.

The number of Private or Family schools was 41, the total number of scholars 232, and the average number to each school 5·3. The position of the Guru in the Kaithí Family schools is analogous to that of the Maulví in the Persian Family school. The men who employ such tutors are either wealthy Banyas or Zemindars. The Guru is not merely a family teacher but general manager of his master's accounts, and if his master is a landowner, he is the medium of communication between the landowner and the bazar dealer.

The Independent Kaithí schools were 50 in number, educating 627 pupils; the average number of scholars per school was 12·5, and the average duration of each school up to the time when it was examined was 8 years. It causes much surprise at first to find that in a country, where Kaithí is very widely used, there were

only 50 Independent Kaithí schools found in existence. The fact, however, is easily explained. During the rainy season there were probably 3 times the number of schools recorded above, and 3 or 4 times the number of scholars. The enquiries recorded in this report were made before the rainy season had commenced; and it is only in the rainy season, when the Banyas (shop-keepers) remain at home, and the boys have less work out of doors, that bázár schools can flourish. They dry up, like the earth, with the approach of the dry weather. Some few schools last out the whole year, and these are the schools which the Deputy Inspectors found in existence. The schools under review are supported by fees: but one school (in the Lucknow district) is supported by an endowment, and this is the oldest Kaithí school in Oudh.

The teaching at Kaithí schools, both Private and Independent, is of a simple, even of a rude character; but for the purposes for which it is intended, wonderfully effective and complete. According to the popular saying, "from the beginning of the world we "have never felt the want of any other rules of Arithmetic for "carrying on every kind of business." The students never use a book. But by means of the tables and rules which they commit to memory they can not only calculate all their accounts correctly, but do it more quickly than pupils taught in our own schools. The whole of the Kaithí course, including both Writing and Arithmetic, can be easily mastered in one year, if the pupil is diligent and not less than 11 or 12 years of age. For the purposes of bazár trade the system is perfect, and in proportion to its usefulness the most economical of time and labour and books, that ever has been or probably could be invented. On the other hand, for the purposes of education, (if by education is meant the training of the reasoning and other faculties), it is almost nil. To the Kaithí student Arithmetic is merely an art which it is useful to be able to practise, but which he has no power or wish to understand in theory; though doubtless it required a man of much foresight and originality to invent and arrange the several kinds of tables by which the trader can calculate almost anything with a remarkable degree of promptness and precision. On leaving a Kaithí school, the student cannot read the simplest Nagrí book, and his mind has not been enlarged by a single new idea upon any subject in the world.

Class VI.—Sanskrit schools.

The last kind of Indigenous school to be noticed in this article consists of the Sanskrit patshalas. These schools are not exclusively religious in their aims; but they come nearer to the level of the Mahomedan religious maktabs than any other Indigenous schools in Oudh. What Arabic is to the Musalmáns, Sanskrit is to

the Hindus: and the methods, according to which both are taught, are not dissimilar. The Pandits of Sanscrit schools never engage in family-teaching, as do the Maulvís of Persian maktabs and the Gurus of Kaithí patshalas. All the Sanscrit schools may, therefore, be classed as Independent.

There were 63 Sanscrit schools in all in 1874, and 506 pupils; the average attendance per school being 8. The Sanscrit schools are, as a rule, the most ancient and the most permanent in Oudh. Some of them, it is true, are schools of yesterday; but the average duration of each school, even when these are included, comes to 27·8 years. As the character of Nagrí and Sanscrit is the same, more than half the schools possessed a pupil or two who could read a modern Nagrí book, but very few contained a scholar who could explain the sense. Arithmetic is entirely neglected, except that a moderate acquaintance with Multiplication and Division is gained indirectly through the study of Astrology in those schools where this subject happens to be taught. New Sanscrit schools are springing up every year in Ayudhya. What Lucknow is to Mohamedan learning, Ayudhya is to Hindu learning.

The Sanscrit schools teach one or more of the following subjects; Karamkand (the book of ceremonies relating to marriages, funerals, &c.); the páts or books of prayer; Vyakaran or Grammar in some 5 or 6 different books; one or more of the Puráns or sacred histories; Jyotish or Astrology, the science of telling fortunes. The Vernacular is never taught. Arithmetic is not taught except indirectly or accidentally through Jyotish, and that little badly; for Jyotish is taught only through the medium of the Sanscrit, and the Sanscrit is very seldom understood. Composition is never taught; but most pupils can write Nagrí when something is given them to copy, because the scarcity of printed and manuscript books compels them to be constantly copying out some Sanscrit text.

The Sanscrit schools are neither attended nor taught by any but Brahmins. Some of the pupils are day-scholars and some are boarders. Of the latter the majority are paupers, supported during the period of study either by the more wealthy neighbours or by the teacher himself; if both of these fail, they support themselves by begging from door to door,—an alternative which renders regular attention to study impossible. The boarders, those at least who are dependent upon the teacher's charity, are not merely his pupils but his servants. They consent to do any kind of work which he tells them to do, such as looking after his cattle, or taking them out to graze, or cutting and bringing in the produce of the fields. They are sometimes deputed to perform religious ceremonies in the houses of neighbours, when the head

Brahmin himself is not able to go. Domestic occupations do not necessarily interfere with study; for the pupils recite, while they work, as the weavers do in the Mahomedan religious maktabs.

The Sanscrit patshalas are not merely the oldest, but also the richest of the Indigenous schools in Oudh. According to the information furnished by Deputy Inspectors, 13 schools out of 63, that is 20·6 per cent., possess endowments in the form of landed property; some of which pay no rent to the Government and are for that reason called muáfi. There is some reason to think that the number of endowed Sanscrit schools is considerably more than 20 per cent. The Pandits were not always willing to say how they were supported, and it was not easy to decide in all cases whether they were merely trustees of endowed lands, or whether they were the owners of the estates, by which they and the schools were maintained. It is certain in any case that Sanscrit patshalas are not supported by fees, as are most other Indigenous schools of the independent class; and that those, which have no endowment attached to them, are maintained by the private liberality either of the teacher himself, or of the neighbouring laymen. In this respect also they resemble the religious maktabs.

Having thus brought under review the 6 different classes of Indigenous schools, I will now mention a few characteristics which are common to all:—

(*a.*) The methods of teaching and mode of management are the same in all. Registers of attendance are not kept; nor is any regular routine of study observed. Pupils are not divided into classes. If two boys should happen to be reading from a book by the same author, they will invariably be found reading at different places. The pupil always reads aloud, seated on the ground, and swinging his body up and down. The constant exercise of the lungs and spine is believed to assist the memory: and memory is the only mental faculty deemed worthy of cultivation. To sit still, and study thoughtfully without using the voice, is a practice wholly unknown. To be silent is the same thing as to be indolent.

(*b.*) The Vernacular is not studied in any of the Indigenous schools. Pupils taught in the Kaithí and Mahajaní schools can neither read a Nagrí book nor write in the Nagrí character. Those taught in Sanscrit schools cannot avoid learning the Nagrí character, because Sanscrit books are written in Nagrí; but they never study a modern Hindí book or practise Hindí composition. Those taught in the Persian schools are never set to read an Urdu author or to write an Urdu letter. The first aim of Primary schools should be to teach pupils to read and write their own Vernacular; but this is what the Indigenous schools studiously

avoid. If any results of this kind are attained, it is not the effect of direct aim or effort, but the indirect result of studying classical languages.

(*c.*) None of the Indigenous schools have any separate school-houses. If the school is a private one, whether of the Kaithí or the Persian class, the teacher uses a room given by the patron or teaches at the patron's door. In the case of the Sanscrit schools and that of the Independent Kaithí schools, the pupils meet either in the teacher's house or outside his door. In the case of the Independent maktabs, the teacher assembles the pupils either in his own house or in a mosque, or in some house lent him for the purpose.

(*d.*) The Indigenous schools never teach more than one subject or class of subject. According to native notions, a school should have one aim and one only, and should strictly confine itself to that : a mental training for general purposes is altogether repugnant to native notions of utility. The secular maktabs, for example, teach the art of reading and writing Persian, and this only. Even penmanship of a high order (nastáliq) is in most cases taught as a separate art and under a separate teacher. The religious maktabs teach the Qurán, and nothing more. The Kaithí schools teach only Kaithí writing and bazár arithmetic. The Sanscrit schools teach only Sanskrit. Thus the education given at an Indigenous school, whatever it may be, is as one-sided as it can be made. The exceptions to this rule are very few. There is one Nagrí or Sanscrit school in the Hardoi district, where some of the pupils are also learning Kaithí ; and there is one Kaithí school, where Persian is also taught. These are the only two exceptions I could find out of all the Indigenous schools which were examined.

(*e.*) The Indigenous schools, excepting those which are purely religious, are all Special or Professional schools ; that is, their aim is to prepare a pupil for some specific trade or calling, not to educate his faculties ; and any study not directly conducive to the fulfilment of this aim is rejected as irrelevant and obstructive. Thus the Kaithí and Mahajaní schools give the kind of instruction necessary for a village accountant (patwárí) or for a shop-keeper (Banya). In the Sanskrit schools a pupil learns to be either a family priest (Pandit or Purohit), or a fortune-teller (Jyotishi), or a reciter of Puráns ; for in either of these ways a Brahmin can earn a livelihood. In the Persian maktabs a man learns what will best qualify him, or rather what is believed will best qualify him, to become a Vernacular clerk (moharrir) or an agent to a Talukdár (mukhtár) or a physician (hakím). The only exception to this rule is that in some of the Private maktabs, namely, in those kept by

wealthier patrons, children are not taught with professional or mercenary objects in view, but because it is considered by their parents to be a mark of respectability to keep a family-tutor.

(*f.*) Lastly, the Indigenous schools are schools for the rich or middle classes and for the higher castes ; they are not schools for the general population. Thus in the Family schools the only pupils taught are either the patron's own sons and relatives, or the children of outsiders of the same social status as himself. The Kaithí and Mahajaní schools are attended almost exclusively by the landed class, the shop-keepers and traders, men for the most part in easy circumstances. The Sanskrit schools are attended exclusively by Brahmins ; some of the pupils, it is true, are poor, depending on the teacher for support, but they are all Brahmins, men of the highest caste in the country. The Independent secular maktabs are seldom attended by any but Kayths,—the highest caste after Brahminsan d Chhattris,—and Mahomedans of the upper or non-labouring class. The only schools to which poor Mahomedans resort, are the religious maktabs, in which nothing but the Qurán is taught.

It will be seen, then, how great is the contrast between the Indigenous schools and the Government Primary schools. In each of the 5 characteristics described above, the Government Primary schools go upon the very opposite plan. Boys are taught in classes and according to a fixed routine, and it is the aim of these schools, whether they succeed or not, to give more encouragement to the thinking faculties, than to memory. Knowledge is taught entirely through the Vernacular, and Persian is taught only as an optional subject. To every school there is a separate school-house in which the pupils meet. Every school teaches several different subjects, and not merely one ; and some attention is paid to History, Geography and the common facts of nature, as well as to Writing, Literature, and Arithmetic. The object of the teaching is to improve the pupil's mind, and not merely to train him for some particular trade or calling, to the rigorous exclusion of every study not directly conducive to this. Above all, the Government Primary schools are not confined to the rich and to children of the higher castes. The fees paid by the pupils are much less than those paid at the Indigenous schools ; and children of the lower castes, such as Kurmis, Ahirs, Murayis, &c., and occasionally even sons of faqírs or religious mendicants, can be seen in attendance with sons of Brahmins, Kayths, Chattris, Banyas and others. It is true, that the lower castes are less frequently represented than could be wished ; but the Government schools are open to all, while the Indigenous schools are designedly exclusive. The Government schools are in fact the only lower class schools in

the country, if the term "lower class" refers to the classes admitted, as well as to the standard of instruction.

Having thus shewn what the Indigenous schools are, we have now to consider what means, if any, can be employed for extending Primary Vernacular education among the lower classes of the people through the medium of these schools. If the account given above is true, it would seem that the schools in question afford no basis whatever for carrying out such an object; in fact, that no such thing as an Indigenous system of primary national schools, open to the general population, exists in Oudh or in Upper India generally. If we take each class of school in succession, it will be seen how very unpromising such a machinery is.

First as to the Private schools, that is, the schools (if they can be called so) in which the pupils are merely the sons or relatives of some private person, and the teacher is merely a private tutor in his employment. The Persian Family schools 494 in number, and the Kaithí Family schools 41 in number, being both of the same stamp, may be considered together. To convert these into primary national schools open to all classes, is, I believe, impossible: and it is only upon this condition that they could become entitled to Government aid. Many patrons would no doubt be willing to allow the Government to pay the salary of their private tutor; many again have refused very distinctly to permit Government interference in their family arrangements. But it is clear that, whatever professions may have been made by some patrons of willingness to accept Government aid and supervision, the family-tutor will obey the orders of the man who pays his salary rather than those of an officer appointed from without to supervise his teaching, and that the school will remain closed to any but those, whom the patron is willing to admit. It is a remarkable fact that most of these Family schools are in the vicinity of Government schools, and many of them are maintained by Government officers; from which it follows, that private tutors are entertained, not because there are no other means of instruction within reach, but because the father prefers to have his children taught separately from children of other castes, or because he thinks the old method better than that used in Government schools, or because he wants a Maulví for purposes other than that of merely teaching his sons, or because he feels it to be necessary to his position in society to keep a person of this kind on the establishment. In all such cases, Government interference and inspection would seem to be entirely out of place. It appears to me that the State can no more interfere with a man's family-tutor than it can with this cook or any other domestic retainer. Moreover, most of the private tutors would refuse State aid, even if the employer

allowed them to take it. For if they receive such aid, they know that they will be expected to work harder, and it is not at all to their interest to get the sons of their employers educated too fast.

Now the Private or Family schools, taking the two classes together, amount to 544, that is, 72 per cent. of the total number of Indigenous schools in Oudh. This leaves only 212 schools of the class which I have termed Independent. Of these public schools 39 are religious or Arabic maktabs, 63 are Sanscrit patshalas, 60 are secular or Persian maktabs, and 50 are Kaithí patshalas.

The religious or Arabic maktabs may be at once left out of the question. The teachers are either blind men, or weavers, or Maulvís, who neither know, nor wish to know, anything but the Qurán. The pupils in such schools cannot be said to be receiving any education at all : for to repeat the Qurán mechanically, without reference to Grammar or sense, is not more and not less rational, than to churn prayers by water, or to hang them out to the wind on lettered flags, as is done by the illiterate Bhuddists of Bhootan. Besides this the teachers, if they can be called so, are unalterably persuaded of the infinite superiority of their own wisdom over that of Europeans or any other races of infidels. The offer of State aid would be rejected with scorn.

The Sanscrit schools, 63 in number, are for several reasons quite as incapable of improvement as the Arabic maktabs. They teach, as I have shewn, nothing but Sanscrit, and to none but Brahmins. To expect these Brahmin teachers to change their system would be equal to expecting them to change their caste. Pecuniary inducements in the form of Government aid would have little or no force. For the teachers are already well off in most cases, and those, who are not supported by endowments, would not risk the chance of losing the support of their present patrons for the sake of a grant-in-aid from Government of much less value. The teachers, too, are quite incapable of teaching any of the subjects which the Government wishes to encourage, even if they could be induced to do so.

The schools next to be considered are the secular Independent maktabs. In the constitution of these schools there is no inherent obstacle to their being brought under some system of aid and inspection. But their number is very small, only 60 in all Oudh ; the average attendance is also very small, only eight pupils ; and the schools themselves are of a very ephemeral nature, the average duration of each being only 5·6 years. They teach less than what is taught in Government Primary schools, are less popular, and less permanent. They are too scattered to admit of circle teachers or Sub-Deputy Inspectors being appointed to look after them. They have no proper school-houses, in which an increased

number of pupils could meet, supposing an increased number could be collected. When a Government school can only collect 16 pupils, it is condemned to be closed; but these schools cannot collect more than half this number. It would be impolitic as well as inconsistent to aid schools which the Department would abolish if they were its own. The reason apparently why Indigenous schools have been singled out for aid, is because it is thought expedient to conserve and improve *permanent* native institutions: but there is nothing permanent in the constitution of these schools. Excepting a few which are endowed, they are all schools of yesterday; and the teachers would leave them at once and seek for private employment in the family of some Kayth or Mahomedan, if a better salary were offered them.

The only remaining schools are the Independent Kaithí schools, 50 in number. The same remarks apply with very little difference. The tendency of these schools to disappear during the dry months of the year renders them perhaps less capable of permanent improvement than the secular maktabs.

In a thickly-peopled province like Oudh, there is more than room enough both for Indigenous schools and for Departmental schools. The two between them cover only a small proportion of the total area. Counting both the Indigenous and the Departmental schools, there is on an average only one school to every 13 square miles, and the number of boys receiving education is only about five per cent. of the native population A Government school educating about 25 pupils daily can be kept up at a cost of Rs. 8 or 10 per mensem, and whenever a new school of this kind is opened, it becomes the means of bringing pupils under instruction, most, if not all, of whom would otherwise receive no education. The Educational Department has no funds to spare for trying experiments of doubtful success; but even if it had, it would seem to be bad economy, in an under-educated province like this, to spend money upon schools which are already self-supporting and are doing some good, instead of opening new schools which will bring new pupils under instruction, will have three or four times as many scholars, and will teach them a good deal better.

The only useful result elicited by this inquiry is that, there is no such thing in Oudh (or in Upper India generally) as an Indigenous system of Primary schools open to the general population, as the Government schools are. They are not, so far as the evidence goes to prove, the relics of a decayed village system; for they exist in towns much more frequently than in villages; they are intensely exclusive in their aims and character; they are patronized by the rich rather than the poor; they are attended by the high

castes and not by the low or Sudra castes ; a very large majority are not schools at all in the proper sense of the term ; they seldom last so long as 10 years ; and they still more rarely have so many as 10 pupils. The testimony given by the Hindus themselves in their own literature appears to imply, that no such thing as a system of village schools, open to all classes, could ever have existed in ancient India. The author of the Institutes lays down the principle that none but the twice-born castes are to be allowed the privilege of education ; and the education of Sudras and of the mixed castes is strictly prohibited. He laments, too, in several places, that even among Brahmans, there is a perpetual tendency to become degraded to the rank of Sudras. This tendency has been prevailing, and in fact increasing, from Manu's time till now. The Sudras and mixed castes are as illiterate now as they were then ; and the Indigenous schools, far from affording instruction to the masses of the peop e, have never recognized their existence.

I am not aware on what grounds it has been supposed that the Hindu Indigenous schools of these provinces, as we now find them, are the relics of a decayed system of *National* village schools. In the old Hindu township or municipal system, there was the Headman, who is spoken of in Manu as the agent of the king : there was the Accountant, who kept the village records, drew up deeds for the different owners of land, and wrote private letters for such as required his services for this purpose : there was the Moneylender, the Priest, the Astrologer, the Blacksmith, the Carpenter, the Barber, the Potter, the Leather-worker, the Watchman, &c., but no place is found for the Schoolmaster. It is more than probable, however, that as the offices of Accountant and Moneylender were hereditary, (like those of the Patwári and the Mahájan at the present day), these classes kept up some kind of schools of their own, in which one or other of the Prákrita dialects then in use and some broken form of the Devanagrí character were taught to the sons of the parents concerned and their relatives. If such was the case, the schools so established must have answered very nearly to the Kaithi and Mahájani schools of the present day. Again, it may be considered certain, that the Brahmin families, out of which the Priest (Purohit) and the Astrologer (Jyotishi) were selected, required some means of instruction for the benefit of those members of their caste who were to succeed them : and we are told by Elphinstone that one or other of these two officers did, in fact, act as schoolmaster within the township. Such schools must have corresponded very closely with the Sanskrit schools of the present day, the special aim of which, as we have shewn already, is to train young Brahmans for the offices of Priest or Astrologer. There are no grounds for assuming, (in fact the

spirit of Manu's code points to a result the very opposite), that the high caste Hindus were more zealous, or rather less indifferent, about the intellectual enlightenment of their low caste brethren in ancient days than they are now. Seeing how very exclusive these so-called Indigenous schools are at the present day, and how intensely conservative the Hindus are and always have been as a nation, we are justified, as I think, in arguing backwards and interpreting the past in the light of the present. If the Sanskrit schools of to-day are confined to Brahmans, (and we know that they *are* so confined), we feel no hesitation in concluding that they were equally exclusive in the days of Manu and in succeeding centuries: and the same argument applies with no less force to Kaithi and Mahájani schools. The schools in question were probably less ephemeral, more regularly attended, and better taught in days, when the old Hindu municipal system was flourishing in its full pristine vigor, than they have since become under the rule of successive races of foreigners and the consequent disruption of the Hindu polity. But in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, we are justified in concluding that the Indigenous schools of the present day, shattered and weakened as they may have become by a long succession of adverse influences, are still essentially the same in character and aim as they ever were; or in other words, that they were never, in their most palmy days, attended by the general population, or by the low castes, or by any classes other than those which established them and which still exclusively attend them. The high castes have suffered much more than the low from the social and political changes which have followed the Mahummedan and British conquests. If there ever was a low caste element in the Indigenous schools of ancient India, and if these schools were ever really *national*, as some members of the Commission appear to think, how is it that not a trace of this Sudra element has survived to the present day, and that the only surviving element is that of the high castes, which have lost so much of their former influence and power? In the face of these facts, it is difficult to believe that the Indigenous schools of modern India, as we now see them, are a relic of a decayed system of village schools, in which the sons of Kurmis, Chamars, Pásis, Lohárs, and the many other mixed and low castes associated with the sons of Brahmans and Banyas to receive the elements of knowledge.

In Oudh the project of aiding and improving the so-called Indigenous schools has been discussed by Government on one or two occasions in the course of the last fifteen years; but as neither the Chief Commissioners for the time being, nor the local educational department, felt any confidence in the success of the

schemes proposed, the experiment has never been made up to date. On the contrary, in the North-Western Provinces this policy has been a tradition ever since the time when Mr. Thomason, who was Lieutenant-Governor up to the year 1853, inaugurated his scheme for primary education in that province. His plan was to establish a Government Vernacular School in each Tahsil station, or revenue division, which should serve as a model to the Indigenous schools, surrounding it. From this school, as from a centre, the institutions last named were to be visited, examined, and directed; the teachers and the villagers who employed them were to be advised, helped, and encouraged; and special rewards were to be given to those schoolmasters who made the best use of the aid and advice thus afforded them. The scheme was at first applied to a few selected districts, and the first results of its working in these districts were reported to have been so successful and satisfactory, that it was decided a few years afterwards to apply it to several more. It turns out, however, on looking more closely into the matter, that the success really achieved was in a direction the very opposite to what was intended by its originator. The avowed object of Mr. Thomason's scheme was to aid and improve the Indigenous schools. But the actual result of its working from the very first was not to improve the Indigenous schools at all, but to establish what are called Halquabandi or Government circle schools in their neighbourhood, and thus to take the first step towards superseding and absorbing them. The so-called extension of Mr. Thomason's scheme, which was made soon after his death in 1853, consisted in nothing more than the extension of these circle schools. A local school-fund was established by the imposition of a cess of one per cent. on the land-revenue of the North-Western Provinces. Government village schools grew and multiplied apace; and the Indigenous schools, which were to have been aided and improved, received no aid or improvement at all, but preferred to go on as they were.

From the time of Mr. Thomason's original scheme up to the present day the policy of improving the Indigenous schools of the North-Western Provinces has been a tradition in that province; but a tradition and nothing more. Statistics relating to these schools were published year after year in the annual reports on public instruction, and comments, coupled sometimes with proposals, were made as to the possible utilization of these schools for the extension of elementary knowledge among the masses of the people. Nothing, however, was really done; and the annual reports published by the late Director, Mr. Kempson, are one long confession of failure. Every now and then the monotony is broken

by a temporary strain of triumph or hope; but the echoes of that strain have always died away in silence by the time the next year's report is published. For instance, in the report for 1871-72 (paras 207—210) the Director says:—"I am glad at last to "be able to report signs of permanency and improvement." Then follows a tabular statement shewing that "326 schools educating "2,644 students have begun to use Government books." This sounds very promising. But in the very next report, there is not a word to tell us what further improvement was made in these 326 schools, to which such marked attention had been drawn in the previous year; and we are left to infer that "the signs of perma- "nency and improvement" turned out illusory and resultless after all. Again, in the report for 1872-73, the Indigenous schools receive for the first time a classification into Lower, Middle, and Higher; and the Director states that the object of collecting these statistics "is to bring the more important schools into contact "with our own system by inspection and examination, and by "assistance under the grant-in-aid rules, when the teaching is good. "Examinations must follow classification, if the latter is to be of "any use, and when once instituted will be the harbinger of im- "portant changes in books and system." But in the very next report, not a single hint is thrown out as to the results of the elaborate classification previously given, or of the examinations and grants-in-aid which were to follow. Instead of this we are favoured with a new classification of these still intractable schools; and whereas they were formerly classified into Lower, Middle and High, they are now arranged into (*a*) Lower and Middle, and (*b*) Special, and the denomination of High is cancelled. The subsequent reports are as silent about the improvements effected by this last arrangement, as the previous ones were about all the other schemes put forth at different times. For some 30 years running, Deputy Inspectors were engaged in hunting up statistics, which, for all the use that could be made of them, were absolutely worthless.

The truth appears to be, that the schools themselves were all along profoundly indifferent to the manifold and long continued exertions made by the North-West educational department on their behalf, and did not at all desire the aid or improvement which the officers of that department were so anxious to impart. It seems quite clear that, however consistently this policy may have been kept in view ever since the said department was founded, no one in the North-West knew what to make of it. The project is now being revived by the Educational Commission, and the question quoted at the head of this article shews how much importance is attached to it by that body. If the Commission can hit upon some plan, by which the Indigenous schools of Upper India can be

made the means of extending an useful course of primary education among the masses, they will have accomplished a task with which no one in the North-West, from Mr. Thomason downwards, notwithstanding the long tradition of the department, has yet been able to grapple.

I will only conclude with remarking that the success, with which departmental action has been brought to bear upon the Indigenous schools of Burma and Bengal, cannot, I think, be quoted as a precedent for what might be done in the Upper Provinces. I served for many years in Bengal, before I went to Burma or Oudh; and I have therefore had opportunities of observing how different the two cases are. The Indigenous schools of Bengal are of *one uniform type.* They all alike teach Bengali, the character and language of the people. The same character is used both for writing and for printing. The highest literary works which the Bengali genius has been able to produce, not to speak of the religious books and poetry which have been handed down to the people from their remote ancestors, are printed in this character. Thus a man, who has acquired the rudiments of knowledge at a Bengal Indigenous school, has a copious literature at his command, if he chooses to make use of it, and is in a position to mount the several steps of the educational ladder without any break in the continuity of his progress. Moreover, the inspection of such schools, since they are all of one homogeneous type, presents no difficulty, and even officers of the rank of Sub-Deputy Inspector can be, and are, entrusted with the task. And, lastly, Bengali is the court language and the court character; and so a man, who has been brought up at an Indigenous school, has acquired the art, which is so much valued by natives, of reading a court paper. The same remarks apply, with little or no modification, to the Indigenous schools of British Burma, which, during my tenure of office in that province, were brought into connection with the Government system of aid and examination. In the Upper Provinces of India, however, all these conditions are reversed. The very word "Indigenous schools" is misleading. Properly speaking, most of them are not schools at all, but private family tutorships. Again, they are not of one homogeneous type, but of several different types, some being Arabic, some Sanskrit, some Persian, some Kaithi, and some Mahajani. It is quite impossible that any one officer would be able to inspect and examine schools of such opposite descriptions. I question, indeed, whether there is any native in India, who is conversant alike with the Aryan and the Semitic languages, and with the various modern forms of those languages.

It is only the Kaithi and Mahajani schools, which can be called Primary, or which bear any resemblance to the Indigenous schools of Bengal or Burma. But even here the constrast of conditions is much greater than the likeness. The Kaithi and Mahajani characters, in the first place, are not one but two. In the second place, both have been systematically proscribed by the Government in these Provinces as unfit for general use. A boy, who learns Kaithi at a bázár school, can never expect to read a printed book, as long as he lives. Such knowledge places no literature, either secular or sacred, within his reach. If he wants this, his education must all be commenced *de novo*. He is entirely outside the groove of the Government system. The court papers in these provinces are printed, not in a character or language in general use among the people, but in a character, which was brought into its present shape by the Maulvís of Persia, and in a language which is almost as foreign to the masses as English. There is no grade of Government school, up to which the Kaithi and Mahajani schools could be improved,—no standard of instruction to which they could be made preparatory. The population of the Upper Provinces is as heterogeneous as the Indigenous schools which have sprung up amongst them. The bázár dealer is quite content, if he can scribble his despised Kaithi or Mahajani; the young Bráhman wants nothing but his time-honored Sanskrit; the Mahammedan and Kayasht, unless they prefer going to an English school, make Persian the sole aim of their ambition; the Hafizji and his pupils seek for nothing but the Qurán. We can scarcely speak of such men as belonging to the same nation; much less can we speak of the schools, which they represent, as constituting an uniform indigenous system. In short, the circumstances, which have rendered it possible, if not easy, to aid and improve the Indigenous schools of Burma and Bengal, are all entirely wanting in the Upper Provinces; and so long as this difference continues, the improvement, which has been made in the one, cannot be quoted as a reason for expecting that the same improvement can be made in the other.

J. C. NESFIELD.

## ART. X.—THE MONASTIC AND SECULAR CLERGY OF PORTUGUESE INDIA.

IN the sixteenth century when the Portuguese acquired and enlarged their first conquests in this country, their expeditions were not dissimilar to the Crusaders, inasmuch as they were at least ostensibly undertaken just as much for the religious purpose of propagating the faith as for the secular object of enlarging the dominions of the King. Numerous priests always accompanied the expeditions of the cavaliers just as in the Crusades, and enjoyed the highest consideration; they inflamed the ardour of the combatants and secured them pardon for their sins. Wherever the Portuguese banner was planted, they erected altars, and proclaimed the evangel after every *Te Deum* they chanted for a victory gained.

After the first difficulties of the conquest had been overcome, the Padres found other occasions to augment their influence. They preached the extermination of the infidels according to the spirit of that period, and promulged instructions to the conquerors which being held sacred were implicitly obeyed. Their advice was taken in military undertakings as well as in international negociations, and listened to respectfully. They meddled in political intrigues, and no one dared to resist them. Both the confessional and the pulpit were instrumental in increasing their authority, which was still more extended by their scientific attainments and worldly wisdom.

Certain friars enjoyed during the years of the conquest all the privileges allowed to the secular clergy, because they had first of all others, followed the conquerors to India. Europe, which was at that time rich in ascetics, furnished to this country a numerous militia composed of energetic monks, ready to jeopardize their lives for enlarging the boundaries of the Church, and anxious for new fields of labour. Some of these men were not only exemplary in their patience and self-abnegation, but also skilled in the sciences and the arts, whilst others culpably abusing the privileges of their position, abandoned the paths of austerity and sacrificed their monastic vows to mundane interests; others again never, swerving from their holy lives, persevered in their celestial contemplations and never interrupted them except to console the distressed, or to aid the helpless. The activity of the monks in propagating Christianity, founding Churches, building convents, establishing seminaries, was rewarded by the religious people who endowed these institutions with enormous sums of money as well as landed

estates, which made them rich and powerful, as their privileges and divine authority had made them inviolable.

The Franciscans were the first to establish a convent in India, and lay the foundation of the Christian religion among the population of Goa, which Affonso d' Albuquerque besieged and conquered in 1510. Their cares were first directed to the spiritual conquest of Bardez, the numerous ecclesiastical edifices of which district, still bear witness to their enterprize and zeal.

The Society of Jesus, joining the Franciscans, left deep traces of its learning, religious zeal, and vast conceptions. Its services were at first chiefly devoted to the district of Salsete and to some villages in the island of Goa, where the companions of St. Francis Xavier effected salutary changes in many customs, and instructed the people in agriculture as well as in handicrafts.

The Dominican and Augustinian friars, although they had chiefly undertaken to propagate the faith among the nations scattered in Asia, did not neglect to strengthen it in the island of Goa, as appeared from their flourishing seminaries.

The monks of St. João de Deus whose vocation was to treat the sick and to visit hospitals, faithfully kept their vows at first, and attended to the populations of the cities of Goa, Damaon and Diu.

The Theatines, the barefooted Carmelities, and the congregationalists of the oratory of St. Philip Nery also had their establishments in Goa.

As already observed above, the Franciscans were the first monks who established themselves in the city of Goa. Albuquerque gave to their superior Fr. Paulo de Coimbra the Muhummadan mosque in which they resided till 1521 when their magnificent convent was built. As the city had been conquered on the day on which the festival of St. Catherine is celebrated, she was considered to be the patroness of Goa, and a chapel was erected in her honor, which afterwards became a collegiate Church, and ultimately, the Cathedral of the East. During the first thirty years before any other monastic orders had obtained a footing, the Franciscans made numerous proselytes; according to approximate calculations not less than six thousand persons of various castes and sects were converted and admitted to the Christian faith in eight general baptisms. Gradually the Franciscans extended their labours beyond the precincts of the island of Goa; thus Fr. Antonio da Casal propagated the faith at Damaon, Bassein, and the districts pertaining to them. Fr. Antonio do Parto converted unbelievers in the North, destroyed pagodas, erected Churches on their sites, and catechized many Yogis and Faqirs. Fr. João Lovia and Fr. Antonio de S. Francisco journeyed in the Dekkan and proselytized in the dominions of the Nizám. Fr. Martinho de Guarda, Fr. Estevão, Fr.

João, and Fr. João de Elvas irrigated with their own blood the tree of the faith at Cananore. Fr. Henrique cemented the religion at Meliapore, Fr. Xisto and Fr. Francisco Galeyo sacrificed their lives at Cochin. Fr. Vicente de Lagos succeeded by his fervent preaching, his virtues and his sufferings in converting the royal family of Tanor which came to Goa in order to receive the corroboration of its baptism from the first bishop D. João de Albuquerque. Fr. Pedro Amarante preached at Chandegary, Malandre, and Cochin to the infidels. Fr. Manuel propagated Christianity in Quilon, Travancore, and other regions.

When the Franciscans were reinforced in their apostolic crusade by the Jesuits, Dominicans, and others who gradually established missions, their distribution took place among the various orders. In their distribution the island of Goa was allotted to the Dominicans and Jesuits, whilst the Franciscans obtained Bardez. After being engaged entirely in the conversion and education of the people, the austere holiness of the Franciscans gave way to the influence of ambitious aspirations. They had been subject to the province of Portugal, but wished to be independent of it and to found one in India. The first attempt at separation in 1580 miscarried, it was again renewed 31 years afterwards, and finally succeeded only in 1619 when it was definitively constituted, and the Franciscans severing themselves from the mother-province established the independent province of St. Thomé, which soon distinguished itself, not only by a change of the rules of the order, but also by a complete relaxation of their severity. The consequences of this change slackened the zeal of the fathers in proselytising, was injurious to their piety and diverted them to worldly interests. Many of the inhabitants of Bardez who had not been converted by the force of conviction, openly again adopted idolatrous customs on account of the remissness of their pastors, and fell into the clutches of the Holy Inquisition, so that the province of St. Thomé, which was proud of the shadow of independence it enjoyed, furnished the Sacred Tribunal with many victims from its own proselytes.

It is, however, necessary to state that even during the first period of the conquest when the spiritual affairs were entirely in the hands of the Franciscans, these monks had neither the strength nor the courage to cope with the immorality of Goa, but looked quietly and unmoved upon the mire of gross immorality in which nearly the whole Christian population wallowed at their feet. It was a sad irony to the idolators to behold Europeans openly disregarding all the tenets preached to them ; accordingly they refused to be converted, and many who had already embraced Christianity relapsed to the religion in which

they had been born, and which they considered to be decidedly superior.

After the turmoils of the conquest the Europeans gave way to sensuality, kept harems and begot a numerous illegitimate progeny. Justice became venal, and all means to accumulate wealth were considered expedient. Assassinations became common, and their perpetrators publicly boasted of them as of glorious achievements, shielded, as they were, by the pliability of the law, and by the ease with which false testimony could be procured.

The bishop, João de Albuquerque fulminated anathemas, and threatened the people with the wrath of heaven ; but in their hearts they only scoffed at the threats of the virtuous prelate. Apathy towards religious ordinances advanced so far, that the use of the sacraments had ceased, whilst, confession and communion seemed to have been abolished. At last, however, a reformer arrived who valiantly exerted himself against this deplorable state of irreligion and achieved great success ; this was no less a person than the celebrated St. Francis Xavier, a disciple of Ignatius Loyola, who arrived in Goa on the 6th May of 1542. This holy missionary at once entered into the closest terms of intimacy with the bishop João de Albuquerque who was a Franciscan monk, and these two great men undertook nothing except by mutual aid and consent.

St. Francis began by awakening religious feelings, and reviving good customs among the people. He snatched boys and girls from the quagmire of corruption, and taught them principles of morality ; he preached in public places, and in order to be understood by all, made use of the plainest Portuguese, the language of the people ; and his efforts were crowned with good results. The most dissolute persons were converted first ; crowds of people surrounded the tribunal of penitence, the confessional, day and night to such a degree, that the apostle wrote to his Jesuit brothers at Rome, that " if God were to multiply him by ten, and were to reproduce him in ten places, he would still be unable to satisfy so many penitents." Now fraudulent contracts were dissolved, concubines either abandoned or espoused in lawful wedlock ; wrongly taken property was restored, and the expenses of every household regulated. The whole aspect of Goa became changed and the polytheists were amazed ; after a while, however, the good this holy missionary had effected, again gradually disappeared, and the demoralisation checked by him continued to infect Christian society the more, because the missionaries who arrived afterwards, were more intent upon enlarging their religious conquests among the natives, than rescuing the Europeans from the abyss of impurity into which they had fallen.

The viceroy D. João de Castro complains, in a letter dated

Diu the 16th December 1546, and addressed to the King João III, of the difficulty he encounters in pulling away young men from the pleasures of Goa ; and describing the corruption which has spread in India, he declares that people "think that there is nothing but to be born and to die, without considering any misdeeds to be sinful! They rob, murder, live luxuriously, and there is no conceivable wickedness of which they would be even a little ashamed." Disgusted, as he was, with this state of affairs, he requested the King to recall him to Portugal.

At the time this corruption had eaten itself into the marrow of Christian society, the Jesuits who began to arrive after St. Francis Xavier, had already became numerous. He had begun his labours by converting the Europeans themselves, that their example might not be a stumbling-block to the propagation of the faith among the infidels ; but his successors in lieu of stemming the torrent of demoralisation, allowed it free course, and concentrated all their efforts on making proselytes among the natives, but their endeavours were foiled by false religious zeal, fomented, as it was, by the revolting intolerance of those times, and the horrors of the Inquisition.

Intolerance was inaugurated by the destruction of all the Hindu temples and Muhammadan mosques which existed in the island of Goa. Every polythestic emblem was annihilated, and even the books of the natives that could be confiscated, were given to the flames, because they were suspected of containing religious doctrines. Conversion was, indeed, sometimes effected by preaching but aided by the sword. The Viceroy Francisco Barreto (1555), and already before his time the Jesuits, had issued orders, that polytheists should not practice any kind of religious ceremony, that they should not be employed in the service of the State in competition with Christians, that married women, if they made profession of the Christian religion, should be entitled to one-half of the property of their husbands, that the orphans of polytheistic fathers should be taken from their homes and baptized, &c. These and similar laws subsisted during a whole century, and it may easily be imagined, considering the zeal of the missionaries and the fanaticism of the conquerors that they were executed with severity. No impression was made on the hard-hearted minions of blind zeal by the agonizing shrieks of mothers when their sucklings were snatched from their bosoms, nor by the cries of despairing widows whose sons were kidnapped for conversion.

The Seminary of Santa Fé pompously called "the University" of Goa had two divisions, the one for 100 boys of various oriental nations and for Portuguese orphans, whilst the other higher one

was intended for those who were to become priests, and appeared to possess talents to acquire the more difficult branches of knowledge. This institution was opened in 1556, and its studies included three Latin classes, one course of philosophy, and one chair of morality in which Padre Belchior Carneiro the bishop elect of Nicea was the first lecturer. Padre Antonio Quadros taught philosophy whilst Marcos Nunes and Joseph Ribeiro presided over the 3rd and 1st Latin class; the professor of the 2nd class, however, is not known. To these studies in course of time also a course of speculative theology was added; so that we have a brief account of the whole curriculum of this ancient university.

The Jesuits had a college at Rachol and another at Chorao, but imparted primary instruction in their house of neophytes, in their retreats of Serra and Magdalena, but more largely in their parish-schools where the boys were, besides writing and arithmetic, also taught to play on the fiddle and organ, for the purpose of accompanying their masters in their peregrinations to hold various festivals in the churches, where these boys served in the vocal and instrumental performances of music during the religious ceremonies.

For a long time no other schools existed, and the number of proselytes gathered chiefly from the villages of Carcumbolim, Divar, Batim Chorão, St. Lorenço, and other islands of Goa, amounted in 1560 to thirteen thousand and ninety-two as Fr. Francisio de Sousa author of the *Oriente Conquistado*, who was also a Jesuit, informs us. Also the province of Salsete, although it contains many indelible vestiges of the religious vandalism of the Jesuits, can boast of churches and chaples erected by them. The first missionary who came to Salsete was Padre Pero Mascarenhas, who fixed his residence in a chapel which became in course of time the principal church of this district. He made numerous proselytes as early as the year 1561, the first of these being the writer of the "Camara Geral" [General Chamber], a native of Cortalim, who took the name of this monk. Pero Mascarenhas was followed by another monk, Pero Collaço whose name survives in the descendants of a Brahman of Margão. He was succeeded by Padre Luiz de Goes and Padre Balthasar Gago, both celebrated in the chronicles of the Society of Jesus; the first for having been greatly concerned in the destruction of the pagodas of Salsete, and the second for having destroyed two Muhammedan mosques, for which he was incarcerated and would have lost his life, if the Portuguese Government had not taken reprisals by confining all the Moslems found in their territory, and thus effected his liberation. The conversion of Salsete was followed by the erection

and endowment of churches, many of which were built, and some of them still remain intact, whilst it became necessary to reconstruct others, which had been burnt by the Muhammedans after the Government of the Viceroy D. Luiz de Athaide (1581) when they destroyed nearly all the religious monuments of Salsete. Most of these churches were, for the purpose, according to the policy of the Jesuits engrafting the new religion upon the old one, and to assimilate the features of the one to the other, built upon the sites where pogodas had formerly stood. The college at Margão was built in 1574, but the edifice having been burnt by the Muhammedans, the institution was transferred to Rachol, whence it was again removed to the former place, but ultimately reconstructed in the latter. These and other structures are majestic and durable, elegant and admirably constructed. The Jesuits prospered in all their undertakings, and acquired immense wealth and power; at last, however, they became suspected not only by the civil authorities but by their own spiritual head, the Pope himself, and the order was summarily abolished during the latter half of the preceding century, but revived during the present.

It is not known with certainty during what year the natives of this country became priests. Most likely the first were those who studied in the Seminary da Santa Fé under the direction of the Jesuits, because such men, if well educated, could with their perfect command of the vernacular, serve as the most brilliant proof of the success of the missionaries in the evangelization of the people.

In the third council held at Goa in 1585 under the presidency of the archbishop Fr. Vicente da Fonseca, rules were framed how clerics ought to be selected, educated, and guided by example. In the decrees of that council, the following passage occurs:— "And because the same apostle St. Paul speaking on the matter of new converts says, *non recophitum ne in superbiam elatus*, &c., the ancient councils ruled, that new converts should not be ordained, unless with all caution, after serveral years of probation, and as the experience of this province has shown that there is some necessity for this, the council recommends that prelates should not bestow the sacred orders upon persons baptized as adults, unless after 15 years' probation, and that they shall not have the cure of souls, unless they complete the 30th year of their age, after which the order may be conferred upon them, in conformity with the ancient canons, but they must be of good caste, of honoured and pure families, because for such men the other Christians will have more respect. They must also be men of good report, temperate

chaste, honest, and well acquainted with the vernacular of the district in which they are to labour, and also with Latin, and cases of conscience; they must exercise themselves in the ministry of making proselytes."

But the council convoked in 1606 under the government of the archbishop Aleixo de Menezes who was at the same time also Viceroy, is more explicit and declares that even the sons of infidels and of new converts may receive sacred orders, but the sons of Christian nobles are to be preferred to them. To this effect the following passage occurs in the 40th decree:—" In order that, as much as possible, the sacerdotal dignity, and the veneration due to ecclesiastic persons may be conserved, this sacred council commands that, of the natives of the country, no persons of low caste be admitted to the ministry of the church. They must be the sons of Brahmans, of Parabhus, or other castes reputed noble in the parts where they are to be ordained, because such men enjoy more honor, respect and esteem from other Christians as well as from gentiles; and as this province is already sufficiently provided with clergymen, and there are many Christians of the just named qualities, whose sons may be ordained, if necessary, we command that from now and henceforth neither the sons of infidels, nor such as have been baptized as adults, shall be ordained; and for the more easy and certain execution of this decree, this sacred council enjoins to the rectors of seculars or monastic seminaries, and to the regent of studies, not to permit any Christian native to study Latin unless possessing the above named qualifications; but the Christians of St. Thomé will, on account of being old Christians, all be considered nobles, and may without the least difficulty be admitted to all studies, such as Latin, cases of conscience, arts, and sacred theology when they show talents for them."

It is not strange that the councils were more or less scrupulous about those natives who were to become priests, and at this distance of time their reasons, whether good or bad, cannot be ascertained; we may, however, conclude from the proposals made in the councils above alluded to, for the establishment of a diocesan seminary to educate in Goa youths coming from a distance, that there was room for such an institution, and that the schools of the Jesuits and other monastic orders were insufficient to impart instruction; unfortunately, however, this seminary, the establishment of which had so often been mooted, never came into existence, and the only establishments of this kind where native priests obtained their training belonged not to the secular but to the monastic

clergy. As pupils of the monks who were their teachers in the seminaries, and had charge of parishes in the country, the native priests became merely the co-adjutors of their masters in these, and however fit they may have been, they never attained independent positions as parish-priests, although their highest aspirations had not soared beyond such comparatively humble spheres of activity.

The archbishop Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, who like all the metropolitan prelates desired to adhere to the letter of the canons and to remove the monks from the care of parishes and to substitute secular priests in their room was foiled in his attempt and lost all the profits which accrued to the Franiscans from Bardez. He failed not to prosecute a lively controversy on the subject, and although the morality of the Franciscans was not in their favour, the Home Government was ; which accordingly issued orders that this question should no longer be discussed, and that the parishes of Bardez must, as hitherto, remain in charge of the monks. These seraphic monks were in such favour at the Court of Portugal, that the Viceroys of India were authorised to distribute every monsoon, gifts of money to them under the title of alms for the promotion of baptisms among the gentiles, they had also to thank the monks for labouring at their conversion, and to admonish londholders to allow them freely to make proselytes. These favours, far from arresting the monks in their course of relaxation, only augmented it ; the more so as the Court of Portugal, instead of seconding the representations concerning the rights of secular priests to the care of parishes, again resuscitated by the archbishop Fr. Sebastião de S. Pedro—whose best arguement was that the Christians of Bardez were badly cared for, because the monks were indolent about the language in which the people ought to be catechized—entirely disregarded them, and scarcely went further than to command that the monks ought to be examined in the Konkani language by the diocesan prelates, before assuming the charge of parishes.

The spirit of the Franciscans was, however, too proud to accept even this clause which made them subject to the prelates against whom they had shown so much independence. Profiting by the demise of the archbishop Fr. Sebastião who had been so anxious to see them under his own jurisdiction, they endeavoured to effect the revocation of the said clause in a long petition addressed to the Viceroy Conde de Linhares, a declared enemy of the deceased bishop, in which they complained of the illtreatment they had suffered from the latter, explained the services they were rendering

to the Christians of Bardez, and enumerated the learned members of their order who heard confessions and preached in the vernacular; alleging that the native priests, whom the archbishop had intended to supplant them, inspired no respect because many of them had bored ears, and only cared to acquire property for themselves and for their relatives. These allegations were partly supported by the authoritative declarations of the Count de Linhares, but whilst they were on their way to Portugal, new orders arrived to enforce the observance of the said clause. The number of priests and monks was now so great, that the Viceroy Conde de Linhares complains in a letter dated December 1633 to the King of their being much more numerous than soldiers (*Livro das Monçoes No.* 18, fol. 57). Their moral character may easily be guessed from the fact that any runaway sailors and vagabonds were enrolled as monks; and at last the King prohibited this excessive increase (*Ibid*, No. 17., fol. 164).

After this the monks changed their tactics and no longer repeated any of the above allegations, but sent to Portugal bombastic accounts of the general baptisms they had promoted, of the new establishment they had founded, and how they had aided the service of the missions. The Viceroy was not now the Count de Linhares, but D. Braz de Castro, whom the Government ordered to thank the monks for the above enumeration of the just named services, if perchance he should find that they have been real. The times, however, were changed, and if the grandiloquent tales of the monks had formerly been credited, they now met with no acceptance from the King. D. Braz de Castro replying to the Government in accordance with the desires of the Inquisitors, insisted upon the retention of the vexed clause of examination, and proposed that instead of the prelates, the Inquisitors ought to be the examiners of the monks, "because" says he, "Christianity has come to be full of idolatry, as may be concluded from the great number of persons who figured in the *Auto da fés* of the last four years; the principal cause being that in these churches the positions of vicars are usually occupied by the gravest of monks who have already served as commissary-generals, provincials, and definidores; they select these churches for their good climate and on account of the comfort in which they may spend their lives, free from the exercises of the choir and the convent; of these, there is rarely one who knows the language of the country. and they send a black man to teach the doctrine." After proposing various remedies, the Viceroy terminates his reply by asserting, that instead of being thanked, the monks ought to be blamed for their negligence, and great remissness in aiding the missions.

Taking into consideration the proposal of D. Braz de Castro, the Government desired the old command on the examinations to be enforced, and the Inquisitors of the Holy Office to conduct the same.

This royal decree applied to all the monastic orders which enjoyed the pastorate of churches; but of the monks who manifested more or less repugnance to comply therewith, the Franciscans, who were habitually averse to obedience, proved to be the foremost by openly declaring that they would not submit to be examined by the Inquisitors. This last step they took after exhausting every artifice to evade the injunction. The contrast between their former zeal, and the negligence to which the monks afterwards fell a prey, is considerable. The churches of Bardez which were in early times administered by the monks for imparting Christian instruction to the parishioners, became houses of retirement, the doors of which were opened to old and decrepit men who wished to spend the remainder of their lives at ease, and cared very little for the people whose language they did not understand. Those who had been the fathers and indefatigable instructors of the converts, became now their taskmasters, whose scourge was lifted to chastise them whenever they showed remissness in serving, or bringing presents of fruits and other products to the friars. The permission of the Rector was indispensable to the faithful for every act of their lives, on pain of being persecuted by quarrels and other means of vexation, instigated by the monks through their minions, so that the people preferred to satisfy all their exactions, rather than to expose themselves to violence. Not even the dead could escape these extortions. The dead body of even the poorest man could not be conveyed to its last place of rest, without depositing with the syndic the costs of the funeral and the accompanying alms, because when these conditions failed to be complied with, the monks had no hesitation in saying derisively that such corpses ought to be salted and preserved.

The revenues of the college Dos Reis Magos, which the Government had provided for the sustentation of orphans, were spent for the support of its servants and favourites. Its students, and they were but few, had to beg their daily bread from liberal men. Of the donations which they received for general baptisms, the monks scarcely spent a third as they made but few proselytes, leaving two parts untouched, saying that "they were to contribute in Rome to what costs them to be prelates of this province." The facility with which papal Briefs could be obtained for money from Rome in favour of the corporations best able to afford to purchase them, contributed much to the relaxation of discipline and to the insubordination of the monks who thus

eluded the jurisdiction of the King of Portugal and of the ordinary prelates. The Franciscans laid aside the mantle of evangelical humility, abnegation and poverty; they not only insisted on receiving ample payment for every religious act performed by them, and thus displayed their worldly covetousness, but more than once had in the election of their superiors contests and hot brawls among themselves, which the Government itself was scarcely able to appease. Criminals who had escaped from the hands of justice, sometimes found an asylum in a convent, and the friars refused to give them up. Their degradation was so deplorable, that some monks amused themselves in public with dancing-girls, whilst others took them into their houses to the sore scandal of Christians. When these excesses were reported by the Indian Government to the home authorities, orders arrived that such priests should be expelled from Goa unless they mended their ways.

Dissolution, however, progressed still further. The friars who were the parish-priests of Bardez extorted by every means all they could from the people, for the purpose of enriching their own favourites whose protectors they had become, whose houses they frequented day and night; whom and whose wives they accompanied to weddings, whom they considered as their own sons and entertained in their parochial manses, for whom they even selected wives according to their own choice, and became the godfathers of their children. These and similar occupations unworthy of priests so displeased the people of Bardez, that they at last petitioned the Government for the expulsion of the Franciscans. These wishes of the people the bishop Ignacio de Santa Tereza, disgusted by the libertinage of the monks, and foiled in his attempts to bring them under his own jurisdiction, seconded with all his might, and, as the influence of the Franciscans at the Court of Portugal which was formerly great, had ceased, a decree for the expulsion of the friars was obtained, but the haste and highandedness of the bishop in endeavouring to execute it were so great, that they gave rise to disturbances; and to prevent yet greater ones, it became necessary to suspend all action in the matter. For all that, however, not only the Viceroy but even the Government of Portugal saw the necessity of restraining the corruption of the monks in some way, and orders were issued that none of them should be appointed parish-priests under the age of forty years, and less than fifteen after their ordination, but their Provincial declared that his order did not contain a sufficient number of them, possessing these qualities.

The number of missionaries from Italy, between the years 1640 and 1750, consisted of fifty-six priests and three novices, twenty-three

of whom reached Portuguese India, and of these thirteen died labouring as missionaries, but the rest returned to Europe. Foreigners having become rare, the prefect Carlos José Fidelis, who was the last Italian, obtained from his superior the license to admit natives of India to holy orders, with the permission of the king D. José and with the clause that they should be subject to the Father General in spiritual matters only. The license was in 1750 limited only to four, but was gradually extended to twenty of the caste of Brahmins.

The congregation of the oratory was indebted for its establishment to Padre Pascoal da Costa Jeremias and other priests of Margão, who, induced by their love for solitude, took up their abode in 1682 in the retreat of St. John of the desert, and dedicated themselves to an entirely ascetic life, until the venerable father José Vaz, having been nominated prefect of this congregation, introduced in it the statutes of the oratory of Lisbon, which were confirmed by the Apostolic See.

The Carmelites João Baptista Falcão and Francisco Xavier dos Anjos introduced their order in the Goa territory in 1750 by establishing themselves in a hermitage at Chimbal, and obtaining a license to live in a community with more companions. Fr. Nicolan de Jesus Maria, who had assisted in the establishment of this society, not being able to prolong his sojourn at Goa to celebrate the profession of his companions, delegated his powers to the archbishop D. Fr. Lourenço de Santa Maria, who gave to the companions of Fr. Nicolan the habit, and the dispensation from the noviciate. The archbishop D. Antonio Teixeira de Neiva Brun confirmed this society which had already enjoyed much protection from the Government, and another archbishop, D. Fr. Manuel de Santa Catharina, rescued it from decay by presenting it with new estates.

The demoralisation which had infected the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the friars of S. João de Deos did not touch the Theatines, the Carmelites and the congregationalists. It cannot be said that the purity of life, and the severity of the rules had even in these convents remained intact, but there is no doubt that morality was always respected, on account of certain precepts of the founders which were utterly disregarded in other monasteries.

The Jesuits insisted that the severe old rules on forcible proselytism should remain in full force, they considered all who were of a contrary opinion as enemies to the faith, and invoked the vengeance of heaven upon them; and they held that those rules could be merely so far as modified as to allow the priests to take possession of such children only as had neither parents nor protectors of any kind, and

to baptize them. The Government of Portugal was happily no longer under the thumb of the Inquisition as during the reign of João III, of Sebastião and of Cardinal Henrique, and did not persevere in intolerance, so that when Pedro d'Almeida was in 1677 sent as Viceroy to India, the severe law on fatherless children was, by the advice of men experienced in public affairs, mitigated. For this and for other measures taken by the Government, the Jesuit Fr. Francisco de Sousa asserts, in his *Oriente Conquistado*, which he wrote 22 years afterwards, that not only Pedro d'Almeida, but all who contributed to the suppression of the provisions concerning the baptisms of fatherless children, had been punished by the hand of God, because commerce had gained nothing in consequence, and none of the expected advantages were realised.

The influence of the Jesuits was so great in 1694, that in a letter of the Viceroy, dated the 27th October, he informed the king, that they are indispensable to the progress of the faith in the island of Salsete, and that among a hundred native clergymen scarcely two were fit to be entrusted with the administration of a parish. This is the reason why the native clergy had for so long a time remained excluded from pastoral charges, which they obtained in Salsete and in the villages of the islands about Goa only after the generous sway of the Marquis of Pombal, Prime Minister of Portugal had been inaugurated and the Jesuits were exiled.

It will perhaps not be out of place here to insert eight brief notices, mostly relating to letters written by the king to Manoel de Saldanha d'Albuquerque conde de Ega who was Viceroy of India from 1756 till 1765, concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits * :—

1. Royal letter, dated 29th March 1758, ordering the Jesuits not to be allowed to enter the palace of Goa, to be excluded from the royal service and from secular employments; not to engage in commerce, and that those who disobey this order should be deported to Portugal (*Livro das Monçoes*, No. 131, fol. 242).

2. Royal letter, dated 27th March 1759, commanding a general sequestration of all the moveable and immoveable property of the Jesuits to be made, and an inventory thereof to be drawn up; the Jesuits are to be incarcerated, and each of them is to receive two xerafins daily for his food (*Ibid.* No. 132, fol. 271). The Viceroy replies in a letter dated 20th January 1760 (*Ibid.*, fol. 274), and states that he has executed the orders of the royal letter. In another letter of the 21st January of the same year the Viceroy states that the incarceration of the Jesuits and the sequestration

* *A imprensa em Goa*, published in 1880, by J. A. J. Gracias, p. 80, seq.

of their property had been accomplished on the 13th August preceding (*Ibid.*, fol. 251).

3. Royal letter, dated 26th March 1759, commanding that from the money realised by the sale of the property of the Jesuits, the Comptroller-General of the Department of Revenue is to make payment to the clerics of the congregation of the oratory at Goa, on account for the capital and the interest of the monies they had lent for the extraordinary expenses of the Estate, marking in the debit ledgers of the Jesuits the sums due to them likewise, but suspending their payment until Mis Hajesty should order the contrary—(*Ibid.*, fol. 277.)

4. Royal letter of the same date, relating to the instructions of the 31st March 1758, commanding that after the incarceration of the Jesuits, the churches administered by them are to be given in charge of secular or regular priests, (*i.e.*, monks) after consulting the archbishop Primate on this subject (*Ibid.*, fol. 279). Reply of the Viceroy, dated 22nd January 1760, stating that he had sent other priests of this estate to take charge of the missions occupied by the Jesuits and mentioning the resistence made against the admission of the new missionaries by the archbishop of Serra and the vicar of Calicut, both of whom were Jesuits (*Ibid.*, fol. 514). The archbishop of Serra and the bishop of Cochin were declared denationalized, and proscribed by a royal letter, dated April 7th, 1761—(*Ibid.*, No. 134, fol. 74.)—

5. *Instructions* of the 26th March 1759, relating to the observance of the above quoted orders, and to documents which no longer exist—(*Ibid.*, fol. 357.)

6. Royal letter of the 1st April 1760 : Resolution concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits from India, the manner in which it is to take place, and various other instructions concerning their property (*Ibid.* No. 133, fol. 154). Reply of the Viceroy, dated the 12th December of the same year, declaring that the orders of His Majesty have been executed, and that the Jesuits have been incarcerated in the College of S. Roque—(*Ibid.*, fol. 155.)

7. Royal letter of the same date : Resolution that those who might disapprove of the orders issued against the Jesuits, or instigate the people to disturbances, should be prosecuted by law (*Ibid.*, fol., 158). Reply of the Viceroy, dated the 6th December 1760, declaring that the orders have been duly carried out, but that up to the date when the letter was written, no act whatever had occurred to make the obedience of the faithful and loyal vassals of His Majesty doubtful—(*Ibid.*, fol. 159.)

8. Document of the Viceroy, dated 19th December 1760, attesting that one hundred twenty-seven fathers and brothers of the Society of Jesus, were kept prisoners in the new College of

St. Paul, in Goa, had been embarked for Portugal on board the ship "N. Sra da Conceição e S. Vincente Ferreira" commanded by captain Carneiro de Alcaçova—(*Ibid.*, fol. 387.)

Thus the Jesuits were expelled, the enlightened ministry of king José desired to emancipate the Christians of Portuguese India, and would no longer consent that native priests should be reputed incapable to be put in charge of parishes. Also the native clergy sent numerous petitions to Portugal, stating that their number amounted in the island of Goa and in the provinces of Salsete and Bardez to more than ten thousand, most of whom were literary men, good preachers and theologians, but ignominiously excluded from the charge of parishes, all of which had been given to Europeans. The Marquis de Pombal, Prime Minister of the King, taking into account these considerations, instructed the archbishop in a letter in 1774, that native priests ought to be appointed to the care of parishes as well as Europeans, and that when all claims of the applicants happen to be equal, the former must be preferred to the latter; also, that monks ought to have the care of churches only when secular priests cannot be found in sufficient numbers.

It is remarkable that a letter of instructions of the Marquis de Pombal to the archbishop of Goa D. Francisco de Assumpçáo e Brito bears the same date with the royal letter in which the abolition of the Holy Inquisition was decreed.* This letter, which consists of eighteen paragraphs and throws considerable light on the state of the clergy, is appended to the "Fifth Instruction" which we print in italics to imitate the original also in this respect :—

## FIFTH INSTRUCTION.

*Extirpation of all the books of casuistry and of corrupt morality by adequate means of publishing the edicts of the Royal Board of Censors; by diligent examination of the libraries of the secular and regular clergy; by sending to Portugal such books in which those pernicious doctrines may be found to be existing in India; and by the introduction of other useful books from which those pernicious doctrines, which in fact all the Estates of the inhabitants of Portuguese Asia like a plague, have been expurgated.*

1. In order that your Excellency may conceive a clear idea of the urgent necessity for pulling out from the archbishopric of Goa the deep roots of inveterate and most pernicious abuses, it will suffice to consider the characters and proceedings of the

* See *Calcutta Review* Number CXLIV. 1881, p. 349 *supra*.

three last prelates who governed it, or who already before succeeded in perverting that unhappy capital [of Portuguese India] even more than the so-called Jesuits had perverted it.

2. The first of them was D. Ignacio de Santa Theresa of the congregation of the canons of the order of St. Augustin. The character he manifested during his incumbency showed him to be a real hypocrite, a decided fanatic and a haughty imitator of the Jesuits in pride, in arrogance, and in the ambition of subjecting the whole temporal Estate of India, and all the regulars [*i.e.*, monks] of it, to his ordinary jurisdiction. He infected and perverted with those vices the communities of both sexes [male and famale convents]; by disturbances and scandals which have disquieted this Court and its tribunals. He put superstition in the place of religion. He dispensed with the observance of the decalogue to such a degree, that the transgressions of the sixth and seventh commandments were cloaked with the appearances of virtue, according to which a devout tone of speaking was assumed, the head drooped, and God with the saints invoked.*

3. When the wretched condition in which the said archbishop had left the pastors and the flocks of the capital [of Portuguese India], required a successor of great discernment and sound doctrine, endowed with an apostolic spirit and a strength of mind, capable of uprooting so many venomous herbs, and so many briars from the vineyard of the Lord, Frei Lourenço de Santa Maria, a simple virtuous and good prelate but an inefficient pastor, was promoted to the said bishopric; all his literary attainments amounted to what he had acquired at the seminary of Varatojo, where, as every body knows, the studies consist of the *Christian awakener*, of the *Difference between the temporal and*

---

* *Gracias* in his *A imprensa em Goa* gives the following foot-note to p. 74, concerning the above archbishop, taken from the *Entre Palmeiras*, p. 22 of Thomas Ribeiro:—

"What shall we say of the archbishop D. Ignacio? It will suffice to add that he was a real pestilence to Eastern Christianity, and the greatest stumbling-block during the government of the Viceroy Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro. Salsete still remembers and will never forget the price of his visits:—Devotional tracts, exactions on simple denunciations, arbitrary imprisonings, major excommunications abruptly incurred, mulcts inflcted upon married women which they paid and were stigmatised with undeserved dishonour; most profane comedies and ballets of dancing-girls with which that scrupulous and virtuous primate beguiled his time; lastly, the sounds of his guitar with which he embarked on bright moon-lit nights, and embellished the languid harmonies of his oriental serenades on the pellucid waters of Rachol.

"Who desires to know the deplorable character of this pastor, may peruse a memoir written by my illustrious predecessor the councillor Cunha Rivara, published in the collection of the Bulletins of the government of 1861."—(Bol, Nos. 32-56).

*eternal* of the *Book of rare cases* for the sermons of missions and of a *Buesemban* for deciding by it all the cases of conscience that present themselves in the confessional, according to the pestilential and most wicked morality of the casuists who have given birth to that pernicious book.*

4. Accordingly this archbishop, instead of reforming his diocese, allowed it freely to continue in all the abuses prevailing therein; because his want of scientific knowledge, his extreme credulity, and his great indolence of temperament having immediately been discovered by the ecclesiastic ministers, the canons of the chapter, the parish-priests, as well as by all the other secular and monastic clergy, they boldly persevered in the disorder and abuses hitherto practised by them seeing that there was nobody who could coerce them.

5. The just named two prelates were succeeded by the archbishop Dom Antonio Taveira who was but little different from his predecessor.†

6. As to his literary attainments he was considered to be a doctor of repute in the University of Coimbra, when, even most of the lecturers who occupied the best chairs were mere servile decretalists without a single canonist, nor any one possessing an idea of natural ethics or revealed morality; at a time when reasoning was discarded and nothing known except humble submission to authority; when the study of history, geography and chronology was totally ignored, no knowledge of divine, or natural right or of the right of nations was cultivated, whilst theology and canonical jurisprudence consisted mostly of sophistical arguments. In this manner a doctor or lecturer, who issued from the university brought nothing that might be useful in practice either to the Government or to the Church of God, and just as little to the decisions of the ecclesiastic court of justice.

7. As to his personal character, it appeared soon from many facts, that the said prelate was simple, virtuous, a good ecclesiastic but an inefficient pastor; so that if the same qualities which constitute a good priest, were sufficient to make a good metropolitan, nothing could be said against this prelate.

8. But considering his want of intellect, his inertia, his remissness as archbishop and Governor, he not only failed to correct in any way whatever the abuses and disorders which his two next

---

* D. Fr. Lourenço de S. Maria arrived in Goa on the 19th September 1744, governed till September 1750, and returned the next year to Lisbon. He belonged to the order of minor friars of Varatojo.

† He arrived in Goa on the 23rd September 1750, and governed the archdiocese till 1775.

predecessors had overlooked and allowed to continue, but contributed by his culpable neglect to the ruin and decay into which the Church and the Estate of India have fallen; so that the king, my master, has clearly perceived that this calamity cannot be remedied, except by the abolition of all the laws, regulations and usages hitherto practised, and reforming the said estate by means of the provident laws, regulations and commands herewith sent; and his majesty has in the persons of your excellency and of the governor and captain-general D. José Pedro da Camara, constituted the two poles of the solid establishment of that new, and, by the blessing of God, resuscitated India.

9. The above mentioned being the infirmities which your excellency will have to deal with, and to cure radically, his majesty hopes that you will apply the remedies with all meekness, prudence, activity and constancy in the following manner.

10. First of all, and before everything else, your excellency will by means of the edicts of the Royal Board of Censors have to ascertain whether some of the secular or regular clergy yet retain books of corrupted and reproved morality, that they may be compelled to surrender them. Should there be any recalcitrant regulars [monks], your excellency will have to inform the governor and captain-general, that he may forthwith deport them to this court, in order to answer for their recalcitrancy.

11. In the second place, your excellency must provide all the parish-priests and confessors of your archbishopric, with the catechisms of Montpellier, which the most eminent and most reverend Cardinal da Cunha has caused to be translated for his archbishopric of Evora; namely, the great catechism for the instruction of confessors, and the small one for that of parishoners of every age. Your excellency will have to verify whether all the said parish-priests and confessors really possess those catechisms and study them, obliging them on pain of suspension to purchase these books in case they should not possess them, and declaring to all that they will have to be examined in those catechisms at the end of one year, which your excellency will allow for studying them; whereon those who shall remain ignorant of them will be removed from the care of churches and suspended from the jurisdiction of confessing. The sordid avarice of many of the said priests will induce them to keep only one book and to lend it to each other, wherefore they are to be compelled to show it; each book with its owner's name on the title-page, so that it cannot be altered.

12. Thirdly, your excellency must likewise compel the said priests to purchase the two small volumes entitled *Inected forigin of Jesuitical morality and doctrines of the Church offended*

*thereby* declaring that they will likewise have to be examined in the contents, and using the above named caution concerning the signatures on the title-pages.

13. Fourthly, it is necessary that your excellency should first, by advice, and if that does not suffice, by compulsion, induce all parish-priests to possess and to read the "Chronological Deductions" with their proofs, and the "Historical compendium of the schism of sigillism" [something about the seal of secrecy in confession ? ] which contains the only truthful and authentic history of Portugal during the last two centuries; the rights of the public; of the Church and of the realm; the duties of subjects towards their sovereigns; the uses and abuses of excommunications which are ecclesiastical weapons, and lastly, whatever is necessary for maintaining the public peace between the clergy and the laity, between kings and vassals, and between the vassals themselves, so that each of them may know what is due to the others and may live with them in the same society and in Christian union. It may be added, that the octavo edition of the said books is the most commodious, the cheapest, and most easily purchased.

14. Fifthly your excellency is in the same manner to propagate the collections of Laws against hypocrisy and bigotry (Jacobea); the good moral books of the "Instructed parish-priest," the Papal Bulls on the extinction of the so-called Jesuits, and the little book entitled "Collection of prayers for the people who do not possess high instruction."

15. The light which the above named solid books will spread after the extirpation of other pernicious and abominable ones, will become in India one of the most efficacious remedies by means of which the diseased sheep of that infirm metropolis can be cured. Those same remedies will be the more effective in proportion to the dexterity and suavity with which your excellency will apply them, by prefering, as far as possible, suggestions with zealous and charitable persuasion to the rigour of co-action.

16. In cases, however, when the said measures of prudence and suavity prove ineffectual, it will become necessary to make use of the Court of Justice. And if opposition be offered to ecclesiastic justice which neither inflicts blows with sticks nor with swords that shed blood, your excellency must have recourse to the governor and captain-general, and will obtain from him every necessary assistance, according to the command of his majesty.

17. In addition to the points already referred to above, it will be very important that on occasions, on which the canons of your chapter, and the parish-priests of your jurisdiction, come to speak to you on other affairs, your excellency should, in your conversations, explain to them that the essential cause of the decay which

has latterly befallen India must be attributed to the misunderstandings and ignorance prevalent concerning the importance of the Royal Laws, of the observance whereof they are to be reminded :—

*Firstly :*—What thing a published general law is, to which from the hour of its publication the people are to attribute the epithets of *holy, and holiest,* and of *sacred, and most sacred.*

*Secondly :*—That the said laws are the columns by which monarchies are supported, so that they fall to the ground ruined, the very moment vassals are permitted to shake the firmness of the said columns by their arguments.

18. All this being managed by the lights, by the dexterity, by the prudence and by the zeal of your excellency ; the king, my master, entertains the hope that public tranquillity and Christian unity will be re-established and perpetuated in the archbishopric of Goa.

Given in the palace of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda [our Lady of help], on the 10th of February 1744.—[Signed] *Marquez de Pombal.*

The expulsion and deportation of the Jesuits, the gradual diminution of the European clergy by the cessation of new arrivals and the representations of the native priests to the Court of Portugal, at last produced the effect that the whole ecclesiastical administration was entrusted to the sons of the soil. This was no doubt a great success, but the number of native priests being astonishingly large, all of them could not have obtained parishes, even if the whole of the Goa territory had been Christian, hence they were obliged to confine their ministrations to a comparatively smaller sphere of action, in which, however, their spiritual influence so powerfully aided their exertions in temporal affairs, that their income was larger than that of the other two learned professions, the only ones which flourish in Portuguese India, namely, Law and Medicine. In comparison with priests, lawyers and doctors were rather poor, because the fees exacted and presents obtained by clergymen were considerably in excess of what was really due to them. For this reason the archbishop Fr. Manuel de S. Galdino found himself under the necessity of repressing the rapacity of the native clergy by fixing a tax for all their ceremonies and suppressing their extortions. He prohibited clergymen from delaying weddings, interments, or repelling persons from the confessional, because they had not paid their fees in advance ; from acting as usurers by taking pledges, or oppressing the people in any way.

The following letter addressed to the King of Portugal by the abovenamed bishop Fr. Manuel de S. Galdino, 1805, expresses

his views on the monks, although he was himself proud to be a Franciscan, and can, therefore, perhaps, not be considered to have been an enemy of the order :—

"Sire,—As your majesty has entrusted me with the care of governing the principal Church of Asia, to which all others that have no bishops are subject, it happens to be my duty to explain to your majesty the general condition in which they are, especially that of Macao, which I am still governing and persuade myself to be well acquainted with, requesting the orders of your majesty for them all.

"When the Protuguese conquered India, they likewise at once founded numerous convents of monks, that conquests for the religion might also be made. This could not fail to be very useful even to the estate, since the Christian religion alone is capable of making subjects docile, and of attaching them heartily to their sovereigns ; and such was in reality the case when monks, accustomed to bridle their passions were first despatched to India. As soon, however, as the provinces [ecclesiastic authorities] of the kingdom began to send only men whom they could not suffer at home, or some recruit-boys without talents, without education, and what is worse, without manners, and such as they did not wish to remain in the convents of Europe, and friars came to India who ought rather to have become soldiers, monastic institutions decayed, became relaxed, and were of but little utility. Missions entrusted to men of so little capacity languished, decayed, and with them also the love of the Christian religion and the Portuguese nation, whereby a loss, not easily calculated, was entailed upon the estate also.

"At first it was necessary to entrust missions to friars on account of their probity, as well as on account of the unfitness of native priests—if there were any—for great things. Each order of monks had a separate district assigned to it as a mission for the purpose of avoiding the intrigues which arose from the comingling of friars of different societies in one district; wherefore each monastic order called the district, in which it was established, its own. The bishops, content with the progress at first made, and unwilling to enter into contests, remained quiet, disputed not the titles under which the gifts bestowed on those missions were claimed, and these became a prerogative of the monks ; a right of possession which they were intent upon conserving for ever, and also did against the will of the later bishops, who had no power to contest it because they were alone, and in such matters, all the friars made common cause. In order to conserve this right of possession, it was necessary to prove that there were monks in

each district, but as none, not even incapable ones, joined them from Europe, they searched the ships which arrived, and accepted not only some boys serving on board but also soldiers of the garrison, and some even who had been disgraced. In spite of this indiscriminate selection the monks are not sufficiently numerous, and the greater portion of the missions, the occupancy whereof they must prove, are so little occupied, that I may without exaggeration say that they are deserted.

"The provinces [ecclesiastic authorities] of Goa, imitating those of Europe, likewise refrain from sending priests, except such as they desire to get rid of, especially to distant missions, or to such as are in less healthy countries. Timor, for instance, which is the place of banishment for disgraced priests from Goa, has become such also for the monks of the order of St. Dominic, but with the difference that these disgraced persons are there missionaries and parish-priests. What parish-priests and what missionaries? The least evil they are doing there is to engage in commerce. I was witness how a padre, who was in the same ship with me, ordered, as soon as he disembarked, various commissions for sandal-wood on his own account.

"The archbishop has not priests in sufficient numbers to occupy these missions, but he cannot send even those he has, because these missions are considered to belong to monks; if he were to select the most capable of these and to attempt to send them on his own authority, he would not only be disobeyed, but accused of abuse of power; they would forthwith allege that they are exempted, that their privileges are being infringed, &c.; so that those very exemptions and privileges which the supreme pontiffs had granted them only for the better service of the Church, are at present the cause especially in Asia, that the missions are not served; and that the very thing is lost, which costed the Church so much trouble to acquire.

"I glory, sire, to be a monk, and am very proud of my cowl, and of the corporation to which I have the honour to belong, but for this very reason I make bold to assure your majesty, that in Asia no monks ought to be exempted, at least so far, that for the good government of the churches your majesty ought to intrust the bishop to send to any mission whatever, no matter to whom it may belong, such individuals as they deem fit, be they secular or monastic priests, without suffering any opposition from the Provincials, except in cases immediately injurious to the economical government of convents.

"So far from being opposed to monks am I, that I beseech your majesty for the love of God, to send for these bishoprics bishops

taken from among those monastic orders who claim them, that is to say, a Dominican for the bishopric of Malacca, an Augustinian for the bishopric of Meliapor, and another for the Archbishopric of Cranganore. For Cochin which at present belongs to no special corporation, your majesty may select any one, but the Provincials ought to attach at least four monks to each bishop of the same corporation to accompany him, else the poor will have no aid whatever. If your majesty does not desire to send bishops, at least, well tried friars who are men of capacity may be despatched. I know that the Provincials have reasons for not wishing to send such men, because they are very useful at home also; but, sire, as a good priest is most useful everywhere, and is always missed in the place which he leaves, the Provincials ought to keep the greater necessity of the Church and of the estate in view, and ought to send to India at least serious men....

"In a word, sire, I beseech your majesty earnestly to order padres of probity to come, else these missions will be totally lost, and after them, these colonies.

"At all events, it is indispensable and absolutely necessary that your majesty should send two padres, if not more can be had, of the congregation of the mission vulgarly called Rithafolles, to take charge of at least one seminary in Goa, because experience has shown that the priests educated by members of this congregation when they were at Goa, are totally different from others; by this means alone, a respectable secular clergy can be created, because the members of this congregation possess experience in teaching, of which those of others, however virtuous and learned they may be, are void. I know that these padres will allege many excuses, but I request your majesty to consider that even by doing little in Asia, they will be much more useful to the religion and to the estate than by working in Europe much, and with good success, and I beseech your majesty for the love of God and in the name of the Church, so send me, for certain, two, &c."

We have already observed above that the Theatines, the Carmelities and Congregationists had not fallen into the relaxation of which other monks adverted to in the above letter had become a prey; but it cannot be denied that they were the first pioneers of Christianity in the Indo-Portuguese estates. They all, however, disappeared gradually, and when the order of Jesuits was abolished, the native clergy was more largely employed, and those who reproach it with want of energy in their vocation, ought at least to consider that they have never fallen into the degradation of morals of which the energetic Franciscans gave so many proofs. As civilization advances, the influence of priests in secular matters

decreases, and even in Goa they are no longer considered as the oracles of God, to be consulted in all matters and implicitly obeyed, but enjoy nevertheless much respect among the people as spiritual advisers and religious guides.

The native clergy of the Indo-Portuguese estate, could never boast of much worldly learning, but they were at all times moral. Considerations of a future life which were ever before their eyes even in their religious ministrations of visiting the sick and preparing them for a better world, as well as in the solemn services for the dead, no doubt, also greatly influenced their conduct. The disabilities under which native clergymen laboured till the middle of the 17th century, when they were debarred from performing some of the most important sacerdotal functions, such as preaching, hearing confession, and administering the sacraments, have long ago been removed, and they have the sole charges of parishes with all the duties and privileges connected with them. It was nevertheless necessary, in a provincial council over which the archbishop Fr. Manuel de Santa Catharina presided and José Cariate the archbishop of Cranganore as well as Fr. José de Soledade the bishop of Cochin assisted, together with the chapter of canons, to frame certain rules for the native clergy, such as, that they should wear the costume prescribed for them, and never carry weapons; they were forbidden to walk about in the night after the curfew-bell, to eat and drink in taverns, to go to shops, and to drink wine to excess; to be present at the performances of comedies, dances, and masquerades; to play at forbidden games, or allow them to be played in their houses; to become lawyers, physicians, or tradesmen; to allow women of suspicious character, or slave-girls, to enter their houses; to permit the son or grandson of a priest to serve his father or grandfather when he celebrates mass; to keep illegitimate sons in their houses, &c. The archbishop Fr. Manuel de S. Galdino added to the above also the injunction that no man should be admitted to the minor nor to the major orders without producing documental evidence of his good moral conduct and of his vocation to the priestbood, "even if he should be as wise as Solomon." He forbad priests to walk about barefoot, to use blue or red stockings, boots, round hats, or robes with rose-coloured lining; to hunt, to gamble, to be present at banquets, to frequent secular amusements, to practice as advocates, to take charge of money for secular purposes, &c.; this Prelate decreed also numerous other instructions concerning the confessional and the pulpit, some of which fell into disuse, while others still survive.

The following tabular statement which we take from Fonseca's "Historical and archæloigcal sketch of the city of Goa, &c,"

framed in 1804 by order of Government, shows the number of convents then existing, with their inmates and their respective funds :—

| Religious Order. | Number of Convents | Number of Inmates. | Capital. | | | Income. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| Franciscans (Observantines) ... | 3 | 63 | 3,649 | 15 | 0 | 598 | 14 | $10\frac{2}{3}$ |
| Reformed Franciscans ... | 7 | 72 | 4,325 | 13 | $5\frac{1}{5}$ | 281 | 7 | 4 |
| Dominicans ... ... | 10 | 61 | 29,929 | 6 | $11\frac{7}{10}$ | 1,592 | 6 | $2\frac{1}{10}$ |
| Augustinians ... ... | 9 | 79 | 21,971 | 4 | 2 | 1,362 | 19 | $5\frac{7}{10}$ |
| Carmelites ... ... | 1 | 28 | 6,018 | 6 | 8 | 292 | 0 | $2\frac{7}{12}$ |
| Theatines ... ... | 1 | 13 | 3,399 | 4 | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | 144 | 4 | $1\frac{3}{5}$ |
| Members of the order of St. John of God ... ... | 4 | 30 | 2,595 | 0 | 10 | 373 | 2 | 6 |
| Oratorians ... .. | 2 | 61 | 13,420 | 4 | $11\frac{17}{30}$ | 663 | 13 | $10\frac{7}{20}$ |
| Nuns of St. Monica ... ... | 1 | 61 | 11,070 | 0 | 0 | 568 | 7 | 4 |
| Total ... | 38 | 468 | 96,378 | 16 | $2\frac{23}{30}$ | 5,876 | 15 | 11 |

The tribunal of the inquisition having been abolished in 1814 by a royal decree of the 21st of May, the same fate overtook the religious orders in 1835. The convents and other buildings belonging to these orders were consequently abandoned, and their property, both moveable and immoveable of the aggregate value of £122,566-4-0, was appropriated by the Government. The number of friars who were turned out of their monasteries, and who received a moderate pension from the State, was 248, *viz.* :— Franciscans (Observantines) 27, Reformed 31, Dominicans 41, Augustinians 59, Theatines 16, members of the order of St. John of God 15, those of the order of St. Philip of Neri 36, and Carmelities 23. Their extensive missions were transferred to secular clergy, while some of the parishes comprised in them, had already been occupied by the missionaries of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*. According to the concordat of the 21st February 1857 made by the Holy See with the King of Portugal, the ancient right of patronage of the Portuguese sovereigns was restricted to the metropolitian archbishopric of Goa, the archbishopric of Cranganore, the bishoprics of Cochin, Meliapur, Malacca, and Macao. At present besides the archbishop of Goa there are two suffragan prelates, *viz.*, the bishop of Macao and the prelates of Mozambique. No other suffragan bishops have of late been appointed in the other dioceses, which, together with the other missions, are under the direction of vicars-general appointed by the archbishop.

According to the Government Budget of 1873-74 the State

contributed towards the maintenance of 110 missionaries the sum of £2,145-16-8. The annual salary of the archbishop is £666-13-4, of the dean of the Cathedral £55-11-1⅕, of each of the four chief dignitaries £33-6-8, of each canon £27-15-6. The total expenditure of the ecclesiastical establishments in the above year was £4,955-14-0.

The majority of the present population of the Goa territory profess the Roman Catholic religion. They are divided into ninety-three parishes, having many churches, the chief being the cathedral called *Se primacial de Goa.* These churches are under the care of secular priests, all of whom are natives.*

E. REHATSEK.

---

* Fonseca *opere laudato*, pp. 70-71.

## ART. XI.—THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN THE PANJAB.

THE medium of primary instruction in the Panjab has hitherto been Urdu. This is now objected to, and very reasonably, by the Hindus and the Sikhs. The *Anjuman-i-Panjab*, as stated by Dr. Leitner in his evidence before the Education Commission, has recommended that the medium of popular education should be "Urdu for the Muhammadans and for the Amla class in the Perso-Arabic character; Hindi in the Devanagari character for the children of Pandits, Khatris and Aroras, especially in the districts where it is the real vernacular, and Panjabi in the Gurmukhi character for the Sikhs." Others contend that Hindi should be the universal medium for all Hindus, as Urdu for all Muhammadans. There is another and a very plausible proposal in the field, of which the chief exponent is Sardar Gurdayal Sinh, doubtless a Sikh. The proposal is, that Panjabi in the Persian character for Muhammadans, in the Devanagari character for Hindus and in the Gurmukhi character for Sikhs should be the vehicle of popular education. A short critical examination of this view is the object of this paper. From the ability and judgment represented by the President and members of the Commission, it is not likely that any but the wisest course would be adopted, but as the Sardar's proposal has a great air of plausibility about it, a critical examination of it would be, it seems, not a thing amiss.

We may take it for granted that, in the face of the evidence before the Commission, the general feeling of the Hindus and the Sikhs on the subject, and the recommendation of the *Anjuman* itself, Urdu cannot continue to be the universal medium of popular instruction in the Panjab. Without arguing the question at length, we shall here only briefly indicate what we think would be the best course from the point of view of the country's greatest good, present and prospective. We humbly think that the Urdu phase of Hindustani for Muhammadans (Pathans excepted), the Hindi phase of Hindustani for Hindus universally, Gurmukhi Panjabi for Sikhs, and Paçto for the Pathans of the Peshawar valley, would be the most suitable media of popular education in the Panjab. The Hindus and the Sikhs culture-language must naturally be Sanskrit, as Persian and Arabic must be of Muhammadans; and in a course of popular instruction, as the initial step to high culture for those who may ultimately reach it, this fact should not be lost sight of. Hindi and Gurmukhi Panjabi would lead up to Sanskrit, as Urdu or

Paçto would lead up to Persian and Arabic, at the same time that each vernacular would supply to a distinct section of the population the medium that would be presently most convenient for it. Hindi, besides, would be a preparation for Urdu to such Hindus as should have to acquire the latter as a means of livelihood. Urdu from the beginning, and no Hindi, for the Hindu Amla class would tend to isolate this class from the rest of their co-religionists. Covenanted Civilians are required to know Hindustani in both its phases, and ultimately, it seems, the equitableness will be recognised of requiring the same kind of knowledge of Hindustani even from the Amla; as in Bengal, it is to be hoped, a systematic knowledge of Musalmani Bengali, whose existence is now hardly recognised by the State, may eventually be demanded of judicial and executive officers and the Amla.

As regards the question of Urdu *vs.* Hindi, in respect of the Hindus, Pandit Bhagwandas of Lahore struck the key-note to the whole situation when he stated in his evidence, that the Hindus do not like to teach Urdu to their 'women and girls.' Babu Mathuraprasad Misr, in the preface to his *Trilingual Dictionary* (p. 6) speaks to the same effect. He says, that Hindu gentlemen who 'in the public hall of audience speak 'elegant Urdu,' speak Hindí in their family circles for, says he, 'our mothers and sisters, our wives and daughters, exchange ideas only in genuine forms of Hindi.' Urdu to the Hindu is only an out-door language. He drops it at home for Hindi, which in respect of the common affairs of life does not, by the way, differ so widely from Urdu as in books, or in the mouths of the learned. Dr. Leitner's statement that Urdu is the language of the 'best Hindus' is to be taken with a considerable qualification. The repositories of the highest Hindu culture—the Pandit class—have never spoken Urdu. Hindustani in the Pandit's mouth must become Hindi as naturally as in the Maulví's it becomes Urdu. Hindu secular education under the Muhammadan *regime* was at so low an ebb as to comprise only a knowledge of some form of the Nagrí character, letter-writing and accounts. All the higher secular education of Hindus come through Persian, and so the language of Hindus thus educated came to be Urdu. Hindus so educated have never been held, however, in esteem as much, among the Hindu community, as Brahmans learned in Sanskrit. The present Hindi movement is therefore a natural movement. The Hindu's allegiance to Persian is sure to be transferred to English, which has already become the 'gentleman's language' among the Hindus of Bengal to the exclusion of Persian, and will in no long time become so in Upper India. The supremacy of Urdu over Hindus cannot, therefore, remain the same as it has hitherto been.

The proposal for the extension of Panjabi over the province, as the medium of popular instruction, means practically the extension of Sikh or Gurmukhi Panjabi. The political importance of the Sikh community, and the cultivation that Sikh Panjabi has already received would render its supersession by any other Panjabi dialect simply impossible. If one Panjabi dialect is to be enforced in all the primary schools in the Panjab, it must be the Sikh dialect. Such a course would be liable to all the objections urged by the present writer in the last No. of this *Review* against Mr. Grierson's proposal in respect of Behar, and to it he must beg to refer the reader. Something would be gained if the Multan* peasant, for instance, gave up his *patois* for Urdu or Hindi, which would bring him into mental and industrial communion with the vast population from the Indus to Rajmahal; but what would he gain by giving up one *patois* for another? An imposition of Sikh Panjabi (albeit in the Persian character) over the Muhammadan masses of the Panjab would create discontent among the entire body of Panjabi Muhammadans, and such discontent no wise Government can ever think of courting. Urdu is, and must continue to be, the language of the better class Muhammadans in the Panjab, and the lower class Muhammadans would naturally wish to be in mental communion with their upper class co-religionists.

That High Hindi has a natural tendency to gain upon the Sikh Panjabi dialect is seen in the very fact of the principal religious books of the Sikhs, the Adi Granth and the Daswe*n* Pâdçâh kâ Granth, being written more in Hindi than Panjabi, the character, however, being Gurmukhi instead of Devanagari.† The very title of Daswe*n* Pâdçâh kâ Granth is Hindi, and the Sikh salutation and war-cry 'Wá! Gurují-kâ Khâlsâ, Wâ! Gurují-kí Fateh' is Hindi, too. Panjabi, to quote a phrase of Mr. Matthew Arnold's, has

---

* Multani is a marked Punjabi dialect, as shown on Dr. Hoernle's Language-Map.

† "The Granth is written wholly in verse . . . The language used is rather the Hindi of Upper India generally, than the particular dialect of the Panjab; but some portions, especially of the last section, are composed in Sanskrit. The written character is throughout the Panjabi.—p. 368, Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, 2nd Edition, 1853."

"Like the "Adi Granth" the book of Govind [Daswe*n* Pâdçâh-kâ Granth] is metrical throughout. It is written in the Hindi dialect and in the Panjabi character excepting the concluding portion, the language of which is Persian, while the alphabet continues the Gurmukhi. The Hindi of Govind is almost such as is spoken in the Gangetic provinces and has few peculiarities of the Panjabi dialect."—p. 372, *ibid.*

Of the concluding Persian "Hikayets" or Tales, Cunningham says that they were "composed by Govind himself as admonitory of Aurangzeb and sent to the Emperor by the hands of Deia Singh and four other Sikhs."..."These Tales occupy about 30 pages."—p. 376, *ibid.*

"the note of provincialism" about it, and the wise early Gurus accordingly made "Hindi rather than Panjabi" the vehicle of their teaching. Although under present circumstances, it seems necessary that Sikh Panjabi should be the medium of popular instruction among the Sikh community, there can be little doubt that the natural forces that operated in the case of the Granths would continue to operate. Urdu cannot be killed in the Panjab, and the continuance of Urdu side by side with Sikh Panjabi, or any other Panjabi dialect would continually tend to turn the latter, as spoken and written by Hindus, into High Hindi, which is but Urdu with the higher vocables Sanskritic instead of Arabo-Persic.

To enable our readers to form a correct judgment about the relation of Panjabi to Hindi, we quote below the opinions of the Rev. C. W. Foreman of Lahore, and of the eminent orientalists, Mr. J. Beames and Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle; and give also a comparative view of Sikh Panjabi and Hindi grammatical forms, &c.

The Rev. Mr. Foreman, in his evidence, said of the Panjabi that it is "a *patois* of which there are many varieties," and also that "there is not much demand for education in this language."

The following are extracts from Mr. Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology* and his *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India.*

"This language [Panjabi] is scarcely spoken alike in any two towns . . . Panjabi is really nothing more than a dialect of Hindi, and is really descended from the Sâraswati Prâkrit, but by virtue of having a different alphabet, it has come to be considered a separate language."—p. 10, *Outlines of Indian Philology*, Edition of 1867.

"Panjabi is spoken half way through the country between the Satlaj and Jamnâ. In these regions it is generally observable, that if you address a man in Hindi, he answers you in Panjabi, and *vice versâ*, both languages being spoken with equal fluency and equal incorrectness, just as an Alsatian speaks French and German, both equally badly."—p. 97, *Comparative Grammar.*

"There are so many dialects in Panjab, that it is impossible to enumerate them. In every district, nay, in every Parganah, a difference is perceptible, and on arriving in a new station, the English official almost always finds himself confronted with a new local 'boli,' by which term I mean to imply a distinction something less than that conveyed by the word 'dialect'. Going from Gujrat to Jhelam, and from Jhelam to Rawal Pindi, the whole of the ryot's surroundings change their names completely twice over."—p. 99, *Comparative Grammar.*

Dr. Hoernle in his Grammar of the Gaudian languages does not dwell so much upon the affinities of the Western as upon those of

the Eastern Hindi dialects. The Language-Map prefixed to his work, however, exhibits the affinities not only of Panjabi, but also of Gujrati, Sindhi and Kachchhi as closer with Hindi than are the affinities of Banswari, spoken in Audh, the Lower Doab, and Bagheland; of Bhojpuri, spoken from the Nepal Tarai in the North to beyond Jabalpur in the South, and from near Allahabad in the West to beyond Chhapra in the East; and of Maithil and Magga spoken respectively north and south of the Ganges over the greater part of Behar. If Hindustani in its two phases answers for the territory covered by the latter dialects, it can surely answer better for the Panjab.

The Hindi case suffixes ne, kâ ko, me*n*,* se answer to the Panjabi† nai, dâ, nún,—,‡ te respectively; the singulars of pronouns are very much alike; 'derivative nouns are formed in a variety of ways and generally follow the usages of the Hindi language,' feminines being formd as in Hindi, ghorâ-ghorí, &c., &c.; adjectives are 'often derived from nouns as in Urdu, by adding the letter í'; the conjugation system differs but slightly from Hindi, and the commonest words, nouns, pronouns, verbs, &c., in a large measure correspond. A number of instances is given below:—

H. Mai*n* = P. Mai*n* = E. I. H. Mai*n* ne = P. Mai*n* = E. By me. H. Merâ = P. Merâ = E. Mine. H. Mujhe, Mujh-ko = P. Mai nú*n* = E. Me (Acc. and Dat.) H. Mujh me*n* = P.——— = E. In me. H. Mujh se = P. Me te = E. From me. H. Ham = P. Así*n* = E. We. H. Ham-ne, humo*n*-ne = P. Así*n* = E. By us. H. Hamârà = P. Asâdâ, or sâdâ = E. Ours. H. Ham-ko, hamo*n*-ko = P. Asâ nú*n*, the hamâ nú*n* = E. Us (Acc. and Dat.). H. Ham-me*n*, hamo*n* me*n* = P. ——— = E. In us. H. Ham-se = P. Asâ te. H. Tú, tai*n* = P. Tú*n* = E. Thou. H. Tú-ne = P. Tú*n* = E. By thee. H. Terâ = P. Terâ = E. Thine. H. Tujhe, tujh-ko = P. Tai nú*n* = E. Thee (Acc. and Dat.). H. Tujh me*n* = P.—— = E. In thee. H. Tujh-se = P. Te te = E. From thee.

The plurals of the different cases of the personal pronouns represent the maximum grammatical difference between Punjabi and Hindi.

The P. demonstratives ih or eh, uh or uh correspond with the H. yih or yah, and wuh or wah. The first is declined as follows:—

Sing. Ih or eh; in, en or aun; is, or ih dâ; is, or ih nú*n*; ———; is, or ih te.

---

* The nasal n is represented in this paper by *n* and the cerebral by n'. आ is represented by â, and the other long vowels as í, &c.

† This suffix is not used in the case of pronouns.

‡ The Ludhiana Grammar (Edition of 1851), which is my source of imformation, does not give any locative suffix. Lepsius in his standard Alphabet (p. 110, 2nd Edition, 1863) has the following as Panjabi:—

'Herod râjâ ke kâl me*n*.' This is not very reliable, however; for Lepsuis makes kâ, instead of dâ, the genetive suffix.

Pl. Ih or eh ; ino*n*, inho*n*, or enho*n* or aunho*n* ; inân or inhân dâ ; inân,-or inhân-núṅ ; inân-or inhân-te.

The corresponding Hindi forms are Sing. yih or yah ; is-ne ; iskâ ; yih, is-ko or ise ; is-me*n* ; is-se : Pl. ye ; in-ne ; in-kâ ; in-ko, inhe*n*, or inho*n*-ko ; in-me*n* ; in-se.

Koí (any), jo (who, which), so (that, he, &c), itnâ (this much), utnâ, titnâ (that much), aisâ (of such sort), kaun ? (who ? which ?), kaí (how many ?), kitnâ (how much), kiâ [= H. kyâ] = (what ?), âp (self), jo koi (whoever), jo kuchh (whatever), koí nâ [= H. na] koí (one or other), kuchh nâ [= H. na] kuchh (something or other), har koí (every one) are identical or almost identical in Hindi and Panjabi. Several other Panjabi pronominal forms are only slightly different from Hindi ; as, hor kí =aur kyâ, sabh = sab, &c.

The Panjabi conjugational system closely resembles the Hindi, just as the common verbs are mostly alike.

H. Honâ = P. Hon'â = E. To be. H. Hotâ = P. Hu*n*dâ = E. Being. H. Húâ = P. Hoiâ = E. Been. H. Ho, hoke = P. Ho, hoke, haike = E. Having been or having become. H. Honewâlâ, honehârâ, honhâr = P. Hon'ewâlâ, hon'wâlâ, hon'ehârâ, hon'hârâ. hon'ehâr hon'hâr = E. To be (Adj. Inf.). H. Hú*n* = P. Hâ*n* = E, Am. H. [Tu.] hai = P. Hai*n* = E. Art. H. [Wuh] hai = P. Hai = E. Is. H. [Ham] Hai*n* = P. [Así*n*] Hâ*n* = [We] Are. H. Ho = P. Ho = E [You] Are. H. [We] Hai*n* = P. Han = They] Are. H. Hotâ hú*n*, hotâ hai, hotâ hai ; hote hai*n*, hote ho, hote hain = P. Hu*n*dâ hâ*n*, hu*n*dâ hai*n*, hu*n*dâ hai ; hu*n*de há*n*, hu*n*de ho, hu*n*de han = E. Am being (existing), art being, is being ; are being, are being, are being, respectively.

The Hindi past thâ becomes sâ in the Panjabi. Sâ is inflected in the same way as thâ in Hindi.

H. Hoúṅgâ, or húṅgâ ; howegâ, hoegâ or hogâ ; howegâ, hoegâ or hogâ with the plurals howenge, hoenge or honge ; hooge, or hoge ; howenge, hoenge or honge = P. Howâṅgâ ; howengâ ; howegâ with the plurals Howâṅge, howoge, hon'ge = E. shall or will be, in all the persons and both the numbers in order, respectively. H. Jânâ = P. Jân'â = E. To go. H. Jâtâ = P. Jâ*n*dâ = E. Going. H. Gayâ = P. Giâ, Gaiâ = E. Gone. H. Mârnâ = P. Mârn'â = E. To beat.

A few phrases and sentences in Hindi and Panjabi are given, with English translations, and these will further shew the close similarity between the first two languages.

H. Das bars o*n* kâ laun*d*â = P. Dasá*n* barsâ*n* dá mun*d*â = E. A boy of ten years. H. Merâ khasm bhí bu*dd*hâ = P. Merâ khasm bhí bu*d*hâ = E. My husband [is] also old. H. Yih kiská hai = P. Ih kis-dá hai. H. Apná hí hai = P. Apn'â hí hai = E. Is [mine] own. H. Yih ghar merâ apnâ ba*n*âyâ húâ hai = P. Ih ghar merâ âp*n*â

banaiâ hoiâ hai. H. Ham ne tino*n*-ko tino*n*-kí jamín (U. Zamín) dí = P. Así*n* tinâ*n*-nú*n* tiná*n*-dí jamín ditá. = E. We gave them their land.

The Panjabi dialects must, we humbly think, be admitted to be dialects of Hindi, if the following specimens be admitted to be dialects of English.

(*South Lancashire*).

(1.) Oi'm o poor cotton-weyver, as many a one knoowas
Oi've nowt for teh yeat, an oi've woorn eawt my clooas.
Yo'ad hardly gi' tuppence for aw as oi've on.
My clogs are boath brosten, and stuckins oi've none.

(2.) Theaws no peshunce, Meary ; beh howd te tung on theawst hear in o snift : for theaw mun know, ot tis some cunstable wur os preawd ot id tean poor Tum prisner, or if theaw'd tean o hare on had hur eh the appern meet neaw.—*Latham's English Language*, 5th Edn., pp. 365, 366, 367.

(*Somersetshire*).

(1.) I be th' rawze O'Sharon, an' th' lilly o' th' vallies.

(2.) Loik th' lilly among tharns, zo be moi love among the darters.—*Ibid.* p. 346.

(*West Yorkshire*).

(1.) I is 't roaz O'Sharun, au' 't lilly o' t' gills.

(2.) As 't lilly among t' wicks, evven soaa is mah luv among t' dowghters.—*Ibid* p. 376.

(*Northumberland*).

(1.) Aw's the rose O'Sharon, and the lily o' the valleys.

(2.) Like the lily among thorns, se is maw luve among the dowtors.—*Ibid.* p. 379.

Religious and political circumstances led to Panjabi being set up as a language distinct from Hindi, and the *status quo* must be maintained by Government in respect of the Sikhs till the Sikhs themselves decide to have Hindi, alongside of Panjabi, or to the exclusion of it. To impose, however, Sikh Panjabi upon the whole of the Panjab would be a most unwarrantable act. It would be doing by means of the British bayonet what Sikh political supremacy failed to do. The Sikhs, as a class, are, as Dr. Hunter himself states in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, (p. 425, vol. vii.) "very illiterate," and it is not illiteracy, but superior mental culture, that leads to the prevalence of a dialect over kindred dialects. The extension of Urdu was as much owing to the superior culture of the Muhammadans as to their political supremacy. Whatever be the

*quantity* of Sikh Panjabi literature, its *quality* has not been such as to enable it to make way among neighbouring populations. It would be much better that every well-marked dialect of Panjabi should be the medium of popular education in the Panjab than that Sikh Panjabi should be enforced where it is not the vernacular. If one's provincial dialect is to be given, it should be given up for that kindred tongue that would bring the greatest amount of good. To the Panjabis, Hindustani in its two phases, would bring the greatest amount of good, and Hindustani, therefore, ought to be upheld in the Panjab. It would divide the people least among themselves, and would divide them least also from the Hindustanis to the east. No wise Englishman would like that every well-marked English dialect should be cultivated and enforced over the tract in which it is spoken. No wise German would like that the several High Dutch and Low Dutch dialects should be cultivated and set up against literary High Dutch. So no wise Indian can wish that there should be any farther division among the people of India in regard to language than is absolutely unavoidable.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

## THE QUARTER.

THE following Postscript appeared in the Calcutta Edition of June 30th :—

A rising of the Khonds against the Kultas is probably the most notable event of the close of the present quarter. The Khonds are the aboriginal inhabitants of the feudatory state of Kalahundi. The Kultas are said to be a hardworking agricultural race, who had been attracted to the State by the late Rajah. They offered higher terms for the cultivating rights of the villages than the Khonds had been giving, and in this way they were gradually driving the Khonds from the best lands, and a deep hatred was originated between the two. The Khonds, as long ago as last year, had *looted* some Kulta villages without great violence and without the use of weapons; and attempts to arrange the difficulty between the two races had not been altogether successful. The late Rajah adopted a son with the approval of the Government. This adoption was afterwards cancelled by the Rajah himself and a second boy, now a lad of ten, was adopted. The Rajah having died in 1881, this boy is now the Rajah. The 29th Madras Native Infantry under Colonel Ford, have been sent to Kalahundi, 200 Kultas have been killed, women have been ill used, infants butchered, but women and girls, generally, preserved alive. Some 25 persons have been convicted of participation in these outrages, and 200 are in prison awaiting trial. The rising may be considered at an end so far as the attack on the Kultas is concerned, though there are some grounds for believing that the adherents of the first adopted boy whose title to the Raj was afterwards cancelled, have been more or less actively engaged in fomenting the disturbance. The subject of the Khonds was ably and fully treated by the late Dr. Duff in the pages of this *Review*. Dr Duff's articles are reproduced in Nos. 8 and 14 of the "Selections from the *Calcutta Review*" at present in course of publication.

*June 30th*, 1882.

---

PREPARATIONS for the completion of an Indian contingent for Egypt were begun in India as the quarter opened. The authorities of the Agra Arsenal, by the 4th of July, had received orders to prepare siege trains for Egypt, and some of the regiments likely to join in the Expedition were mentioned. Two days after, the Bombay authorities received orders to make arrangements for

the despatch of 4,000 infantry, 900 cavalry and two batteries of artillery. Stores, tents and transports were also in preparation, and the 72nd Highlanders, a Garrison Battery and two Native Infantry regiments, the 16th and 29th, were reported as likely to form the Bombay brigade, with two Madras regiments at Aden as a reserve, the 4th and 30th, and the 31st to proceed to Egypt. By the 10th of July the 1st Battalion, York and Lancashire regiment at Morar, were under orders for Aden. With the news of the Bombardment of Alexandria on the 11th of July and the warning by Admiral Seymour of all merchant vessels using the Canal to do so at their own risk, considerable excitement was apparent in India, the detention of the mails was expected, and a recurrence to the Cape route was for a few days regarded as highly probable. By the 17th July, when Alexandria had been deserted by Arabi Pasha and the city in flames, orders were issued from Simla recalling absentees from regiments and directing troops to equip at once for Egypt. The first Government hired transport, the *Malda*, sailed from Bombay on the 20th July with the A Company of the Madras Sappers and Miners accompanied by mules, horses and cattle. In little over three weeks from the time that the Government of India received orders for the despatch of the contingent to Egypt, the whole force was ready for despatch, and why the contingent did not leave earlier than it did was, probably due to the fact that changes were made in its composition ; for, by the 26th of July, the Indian force was reduced in number, and it was decided that it should consist of the 65th British Infantry (which had already left Bombay), three regiments of Native Infantry, three of Native Cavalry, two Companies of Sappers and Miners with two Native regiments as a reserve at Aden.

The *Gazette Extraordinary* announcing the despatch of the expedition to Egypt was published on the 29th of July, and may be summarised as follows :—The 4th and 31st Madras Infantry to go in reserve to Aden. The Native regiments were to go in established strength of 550 of all ranks for Cavalry and 832 for Infantry, so far as they are complete. Commanding officers were held responsible that none, whether officers or men unfit for field-service, should accompany the corps, each native corps was to be completed to the full establishment of eight British officers, including those recalled from furlough and journey in Egypt. The follower's baggage and servants are to be on the Cabul scale. Families of British troops left behind in India will receive, besides subsistence allowance, three-fourth rations for wives and one-half for children. The British troops, including officers, remain on Indian pay allowances until they land in Egypt, when they will be on the same scale of pay as the rest of the British troops with the force. The Native

Infantry and Sappers draw extra batta, and there are to be special rates of pay for the native officers, commissioned and non-commissioned in the Cavalry. British officers and Departmental officers are to be permitted to draw rations for themselves and servants. Three months pay was advanced.

By the 7th of August 33 steamers were chartered by Government for the Indian Contingent, and on the 11th, General McPherson who commands the Expedition, his Staff, and General Wilkinson embarked for Egypt, and reached Suez by the 21st. Transport accompanies each regiment, so that no delay will be experienced on landing. The embarking and despatch was effected with the utmost order and the greatest celerity; but very few expressions of public enthusiasm marked the departure of the various transports. Thirty-nine vessels were taken up as transports for the Indian Contingent by the middle of August, and on the 24th the reserves to be held in readiness were the 1st and 45th Bengal Native Infantry, the 16th Bombay Native Infantry and two Companies of Bengal Sappers. As August closed 49 vessels, all of them steamers, were engaged in the transport of the Indian Contingent.

The Secretary of State for India brought forward a motion in the House of Commons on the evening of the 31st July, that the expenses of the Indian Contingent for Egypt should be charged to India, the Government of India objected to defray the cost of the Contingent, and the Home Government at present wished that India should pay a fair share only of the expense. The motion was passed with the addition of the words "subject to the further decision of Parliament," so that when the cost of the Indian expeditionary force comes on for discussion, the whole question will be reopened. There is nothing unreasonable in charging to India a share of the cost of protecting her interests in Egypt as they are represented in the Canal. The whole actual cost of the expedition to the Indian Government will not be saddled on the Indian taxpayers.

Offers of aid to the Indian Government in connection with the despatch of the Contingent were made by the States of Nepaul, Kashmire, Patiala, Dhar, Jhind, Natha, Kapurthala, Bhawulpur, Malerkotta and others, which were declined by the Government.

The following description of the preparation for the departure of troops for Egypt from a Bombay paper shows the speed and spirit with which the embarkation was effected :—

"*The departure of Troops from Bombay.*—The arrangements for the despatch of the troops, forming the Indian Contingent, continue to be vigorously pushed on at the Prince's Dock. Teh

dock, as may be expected, presents at this time an unusually busy appearance, and the conveniences it affords for the loading and unloading of ships were, perhaps, never more thoroughly tested and appreciated. With the help of the hydraulic cranes, a vessel can be loaded in an inconceivably short space of time, and we are informed that the work of shipping the requirements for the troops has actually always been a little in advance of the preparation of the chartered vessel for its freight. The Commissariat Department, under Colonel Swinhoe and Major Hughes, D.A. C.G., have been specially successful in their work. Notwithstanding many difficulties, the vessels have been supplied by the department as fast as they could be brought alongside the quay, with all the manifold necessaries intended for consumption by the troops, European and native, both on the voyage and after landing. As an instance of the expeditious manner in which the work is being done, it may be mentioned that the S.S. *Galatia* was taken in hand by Major Hughes at about 8-30 yesterday morning (August 8th) and by 2 o'clock in the afternoon she was fully provisioned for about 243 men. The *Galatia* is to take a detachment of the 7-1 R.A., a mountain battery which consists for the most part of native, with a percentage of European soldiers. Provision has been made in the *Galatia* for 88 European and 100 native soldiers, with 55 followers. The estimated length of the voyage is 30 days; but reserve stores for 90 days have also been laid in, so that in the event of the vessel being delayed in mid-ocean, or in any other contingency, the troops can be independent of extraneous assistance. As we have already explained, the native soldiers are divided into two classes, "cooking" and "non-cooking," but the latter class form a very small proportion of the force. Out of the 155 natives proceeding by the *Galatia* only 26, we believe, are "non-cookers." A very large quantity of various kinds of provisions will of course be required for the entire force to be embarked from Bombay, and each vessel has taken on board many thousands of lbs. of meat (fresh and preserved), onions, pickles, dhall, sugar, tamarind, lime juice, rum, &c., with a large supply of water and firewood. The vessels already provisioned by the Commissariat Department, and now in the dock, are the *Tenasserim*, *Dryburgh Abbey*, *Ethiopia*, *Khiva*, *Galatia*, *Naples*, *Zambesi*, *Inchrhona* and *Armenia*. These vessels are now waiting to receive the troops as they arrive; some of them are still having fittings put up for the better accommodation of men and animals; and on board them all the utmost activity prevails. It is the intention to ship, with each detachment in the same vessel, all the necessary transport and commissariat for that body,

so that on landing it shall be a unit complete in itself, ready for immediate service. This entails a good deal of work at the beginning by the several departments, who supply the different wants of the vessel in regular order. The Commissariat Department expect to finish the work of provisioning the transports by Saturday next.

The arrival of the troops has called into existence at the dock gates a number of small shops for the sales of comestibles dear to the heart of Jack Sepoy, and here a thriving business was being done yesterday amongst the soldiers provided with the fractional coinage of native bazaars. These were men who were waiting to leave with their regiments, and who were to be seen in small parties within the dock and its neighbourhood. Work seemed to be going on everywhere, and zealous Commissariat and Ordnance officers already, like the man in the American hymn, "doing their level best"—were, no doubt, put on their mettle by the frequent visits to the dock of H. E. the Commander-in-Chief and members of the Head-Quarters staff. General Annesley, Adjutant-General, and Colonel Rivett-Carnac, Military Secretary, General Macpherson, Sir Frank Souter, General Carnegy, and several ladies visited the dock yesterday morning, and the Commander-in-Chief and staff were present later in the day. The S. S. *Northern*, *Booldana* and *Bhundara*, left the dock yesterday about 3 P.M. with portions of the 13th Bengal Lancers and a company of the Madras Sappers and Miners. Several high officers and a number of ladies were present at the dock on the occasion of their arrival in the morning. The 13th Lancers came from Deolali, and the Sappers and Miners from Poona by special train. They embarked as follows :—

By the *Northern*.—13th Bengal Lancers : 1 officer, 73 men, 60 followers, 87 horses and 43 ponies.

By the *Booldana*.—13th Bengal Lancers : 2 officers, 88 men, 59 followers, 82 horses and 50 ponies.

By the *Bhundara*.—13th Bengal Lancers : 2 officers, 82 men, 56 followers, 86 horses and 40 ponies.

By the same vessel.—Sappers and Miners : 3 officers, 2 non-commissioned officers, 121 men, 49 followers and 3 horses.

On the forenoon (15th August) the S. S. *Wisto Hall*, with a portion of the 13th Bengal Lancers, left the Prince's Dock for Suez. The Lancers arrived at the dock by special train from Deolali about 6 A.M. in the following strength :—1 European officer, 83 rank and file, 6 followers, 89 horses, 59 ponies and 18 mules.

The S. S. *Principia* sailed for Suez about 10-30 P.M. last night with 1 officer, 66 followers of the Transport Department,

150 mules and 1 pony. The S. S. *Inchmornish* also left the dock about 11 P.M. yesterday with 1 officer, 203 followers of the Transport Department, 190 mules and 1 pony. The P. and O. mail-steamer *Sutlej* left the dock yesterday morning with a column of the Ambulance Corps, consisting of 1 officer, 1 horse and 395 followers. The S. S. *Boskenna Bay*, which has just been chartered for the purposes of the Indian Contingent for Egypt, entered the dock yesterday. The S. S. *Sumatra* also entered the dock yesterday with a general cargo, and will, it is reported, be taken up by Government after she has unloaded. The S. S. *Lucinda* and *Avoca* finished loading yesterday, and will, in all probability, sail for Suez to-day. The *Darien*, the *Cambodia*, and the *Deccan* were loaded yesterday, each with 2,000 bales of extra reserved hay. The S. S. *Norfolk* was loaded yesterday with provisions and other stores from the Commissariat depôt at the dock. To-day 2,000 bales of extra hay will be put on board of her. The S. S. *India* and the *Deccan* will be loaded to-day with stores, provisions, &c. The S. S. *Avoca*, which has been fitted up as an hospital ship, sailed for Suez yesterday forenoon with medical and also some Commissariat stores. The S. S. *Lucinda*, with reserved firewood, grain, hay, salt, and miscellaneous Commissariat stores, left the Prince's dock last night *en route* to Suez. The S. S. *India*, the *Deccan*, and one or two other vessels were loaded yesterday under the personal superintendence of Major Hughes. This officer, next to Colonel Swinhoe, has been the hardest worked at the Commissariat depôt in the dock. At the beginning of the operations of the depôt, Major Hughes was in sole charge, and worked so hard at his duties, day and night, that his health well nigh suffered, and Colonel Swinhoe had to be placed in charge of the depôt. Major Hughes' energy and promptitude in loading the transports have, we believe, been—as they deserved to be—commended to the special notice of the authorities.

No vessel leaves the dock to-day. The *Cambodia* and the *Kerbella* are expected to leave to-morrow, the former with 80 transport followers and 235 mules, and the latter with 160 transport followers, 220 mules and 3 warrant officers.

The following is the account of the *Englishman's* correspondent of the arrangements and passage from Bombay of the S. S. "Hydaspes":—

A passage of six days and a half to Aden in the monsoon, Captain Scrivener boasts, beats the record. At the same rate of progress we should reach Suez on Sunday or on Monday morning. The sea has not been rough, but, it must be confessed, it has done its usual fell work, and the approach of perfectly placid water yesterday was a boon and a blessing to many of

Her Majesty's gallant soldiers temporarily *hors de combat.* It is, indeed, fortunate that things have gone so smoothly as they have, for a ship crowded like this, with human beings, horses, ponies and mules, would contain a considerable total of misery in tempestuous weather. There are on board as passengers General Macpherson and the Staff counting 18, one troop (55 men) of the 6th B. C. under command of Captain Gordon; native followers numbering 122; 21 non-commissioned officers belonging to the Commissariat. There are further 84 horses, 31 ponies and 16 mules. So many lungs want plenty of fresh air, and happily the human portion have mostly been able to remain on deck. A small number of the cavalry horses are permanently there, where a row of boxes on either side of the hatchway over the engine-room accommodates them as comfortably as may be. The rest, with the ponies and the mules, are put up in the 'tween decks. Right away from the entrance to the saloon to beyond the fore hatchway, there runs on each side of the ship a range of stalls. About the hatchway, where there is a good circulation of air, there is a third range in the centre. In this part of the ship the chargers belonging to General Macpherson and those of the staff have been placed. The stalls are roughly built but strong; they must be found of comfort by the horses, inasmuch as they offer a support when the vessel rolls and pitches. The horses have each a separate box, but the ponies and mules are placed, some of them, two and three together. They appear to like the arrangement, and when not eating stand amicably rubbing noses. The avenue formed along the length of the ship by the erection of the stalls, would, with the exits above at each end, secure good ventilation; but there are numerous approaches from the upper deck, each of which, of course, serves as a shaft for the conveyance of air. A line of large sized port holes goes the length of the ship, and since the ports were opened yesterday morning, the ventilation of the animals has left nothing to be desired. It was not an easy operation for a man to get behind the horses and screw down these ports when we left Bombay, nor again to open them, and it might prove a note worth making, that when next horses are sent over sea on an expedition like this, a narrow passage should be left behind their stalls for the above purpose. The health of the animals has been very good. The staff horses have their masters' eyes to see to their welfare; the animals belonging to the 6th B. C. the ever constant attention of Captain Gordon, and Colonel Hayter has acquired a tender solicitude for his mules. The chargers are, perhaps, as well as ever they were on land; they eat well and they drink well, and though probably they are beginning

to feel their constrained position irksome, they show no physical signs of weariness. The mules take their lot with accustomed equanimity, and most of the ponies appear to be well contented. Some, however, who have been placed alongside the engine-room hatchway present a contrast to their neighbours better off around them; but now that for the remainder of the voyage there are promises of a placid sea, the fresh air through the opened ports will doubtless revive their drooping spirits. There have been no losses as yet reported among any class of animals.

It is wonderful how the men and followers have revived since yesterday morning; but the day before, in the best of them, there was a look in each man's face as though he despaired of life, and the native countenance is an organism that can express despair of marvellous effect and variety. Since yesterday there have been evidence of the prevalence of a more hopeful outlook on things in general, and to-day hope has regained its ascendancy even in the worst cases. Everything has been done to induce the sowars and followers to stop on deck as much as possible, and Dr. Owen (who has been appointed Sanitary Officer to the force) has had those who were down below regularly sent up every morning at daybreak. The quarters provided down below are in the hold under the saloon, where usually passengers' baggage is restored The accommodation has been arranged more, that all may be ready for any emergency, than with any hope and expectation that it would be much used. The hold is below water-line, and therefore to give light and air the hatches have been opened up, and shafts built up through the saloon to some ten feet above the quarter-deck. There are four such shafts, and the condition of the hold is not so undesirable as may be supposed. Under the shafts there is a good draught, and even in the remoter corners of the large and twilight chamber, the air is fairly sweet, and at all events, not worse than that in a cabin with the door closed. The place has not been much inhabited, however; but some of the sick men seem to prefer its seclusion to the garish deck. They would all come up in the morning as bidden, but gradually, one here and another there, would disappear below again, just as a sick dog likes to hide himself in a corner.

The body of troops on board this vessel, as those on board the other transports, represent organised units capable of taking the field in light marching order immediately on landing. This has been arranged by direction of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, according to which every body of troops on each ship has taken with it half its allowance of transport animals, instead of going in one vessel and leaving its transport to come in another. The transport mules allowed for the expedition are on the Kabul scale, and numbered, when the strength of

the force was fixed at a little over 5,500, a total of 4,000; doubtless as the force is to be increased, there will be an addition to the mules. The Seaforth Highlanders are allotted 636 animals, the two companies of Sappers and Miners 144; each regiment of Native Infantry 194; the Cavalry 149; a Battery of Artillery 155; out of the total 4,000; 2,577 are to be allotted regimentally, and the rest remain over for general purposes. Now, His Excellency's directions were that every body of troops embarking should be accompanied by one-half of its allotted number of animals, and with each ship this arrangement has been carried out. The result is, that should occasion call for the step, each such body being an independent organised unit, could take the field, with kits and ammunition, even if needful, on its own account. The arrangement will in any case, it is hoped, tend to increase the efficiency of the transport organisation. The transport states that now, for the first time in its history, is it to have a trial; and that its efforts to maintain an efficient state of things are not to be constantly sacrified to, and brought to nought by, supposed independent exigencies.

The expedition has also, with the advance of the age, been provided with an improved ambulance corps. The miscellaneous body that has hitherto performed the functions of an ambulance, has been replaced by an organised corps. The Kahars—497 in number—accompanying the force, have been placed under direction of the transport authorities, and will be equipped and made over by them, when occasion arises, to the medical branch, while ordinarily the men will be available for work about the camp for anything to which their hands can be put. They are divided into columns and companies, and each unit is independent and can be attached to, and detached from, corps in such strength and at such times as may be needed. As part of the arrangement of making the troops on each ship as self-sufficient as possible, each vessel takes a dhooly and six bearers."

The order for the despatch of the Contingent reached India on the 10th of July. By the 20th the first troops sailed, and on the 31st of August, the whole Indian Contingent, including followers, horses, mules, and a completely equipped transport and commissariat had sailed for Suez. The speed, completeness, and efficiency with which the Egyptian expeditionary force was despatched, evoked the well-merited praise of the Commander-in-Chief.

The Punjab Provincial Committee of the Education Commission began the examination of witnesses on the 1st of July. The first witness examined was the Director of Public Instruction, Colonel Holryod. The substance of his evidence went to show that for many years the effects of the Punjab Educational Department have been chiefly applied to the encouragement of higher education;

and that there had been a progressive decline in the number of primary and indigenous schools. The great feature, however, of the Punjab Educational Commission was, the examination of Dr. Leitner, which lasted two days, and whose evidence covers about sixty printed pages. His evidence tended to establish the charges made by the London Council of Education in India, and to prove that the Punjab Department of Public Instruction had not carried out the principles of the Educational Despatches of 1854 and 1859. In spite of the repeated instructions from the Punjab Government, the village school cess had largely been appropriated for a series of years to the higher schools, and the general establishment of the various indigenous schools whose methods of instruction the witness described, in detail, had been neglected or discouraged. Dr. Leitner was anxious to substantiate his remaining charges; but the Commission thought his examination had already lasted sufficiently long. At the conclusion of the cross-examination, the President, Dr. Hunter, thanked him in the name of the Commission for the directness of his replies, and for the information which he had given.

At Aligar and Allahabad, addresses and deputations were received by the Commission, and the President, Dr. Hunter, made, in reply, speeches impressing on the native deputations the necessity for self-help, and for developing the indigenous schools. Other members of the Commission also addressed deputations on special topics, and scholarships of various kinds were founded in honour of the visit, and large sums subscribed for educational purposes by the native gentry. Altogether the Commission has met with a most enthusiastic reception in the Northern Provinces of India.

The Bombay Committee of the Education Commission began its settings in Poona on the 1st of September. The evidence given by representative men of the Maharatta country unanimously shows, that there exists a great system of vernacular education outside the Educational Department of the Province, which is discouraged by the Department. There are 4,000 unaided vernacular schools, and only 4,700 aided ones. The attitude of the Educational Department towards private educational effort was severely criticised by several witnesses. One witness, speaking as the mouthpiece of a number of Government schoolmasters, complained of the excessively high standards demanded from young classes. The witnesses are agreed that higher education should not be curtailed, and that the higher and secondary schools of the Department are in accord with popular feeling.

The Khonds who, as we noted in the *postscript* to the previous Quarter, had been causing considerable uneasiness by their rising against the Kuttas, early in July dispersed and abandoned armed

resistance, though their attitude was still threatening. Troops, police, and European officers, are still retained in the district, as their presence is considered essential for the restoration of order, and the trials of some of the prisoners have begun.

The death of the Ex-Gaekwar Mulhar Rao, who died of dysentery on the 26th of July, revives the story of the attempted poisoning of the Resident, and his deposition by the Government.

Some time before his last illness, he is said to have been of weak intellect, and his obstinacy in refusing to see a European physician, till his system was weakened by disease, hastened his death.

The revival of a Minister of Public Works has been found essential; accordingly, the Secretary of State for India sanctioned the revival of the post, and on the 22nd July, Mr. T. C. Hope took his seat as the new Public Works Member of Council.

Meetings, more or less crowded and enthusiastic, have been held all over India, voting addresses to Lord Ripon, and taking in hand the preliminaries for Local self-government. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Rivers Thompson, has issued a long Minute on the subject, favourable its adoption. Local knowledge, and local interest, he regards as essential to the elective franchise in municipalities.

After negotiations extending over nearly three months, the contemplated treaty with Mandalay came to nothing. Towards the end of August, it was announced that the Mandalay Government declined to accept the draft of the treaty offered by the Government of India, which it is believed the Burmese Embassy accepted in the main. The adherence of the Government of India to the provision in the existing Treaty for the Residency Guard of the escort, and the refusal to agree to fresh monopolies in addition to those allowed by the existing Treaty, are believed to be the chief points objected to by the King of Burmah. The treaty proposed by the King of Burmah, and the one drawn up by the Government of India, have been published. The former has been characterised as "impudent," and it certainly includes clauses to which no Indian Government could agree. In the latter, the Government of India have gone as far towards conciliating Burmah as seems either possible or expedient. On the 31st of August the envoy left Simla, bearing presents from the Indian Government in return for those brought from Burmah; and on 7th September, the envoy and suite sailed from Calcutta to Rangoon. There is still some hope, however, that a treaty may be possible between the two Governments, or at all events, there is no fear of friendly relations being interrupted.

16*th September* 1882.

# CRITICAL NOTICES.

## General Literature.

*Principles of the Hindu Law of Inheritance ; being the Tagore Lectures for* 1880. By Rajkumar Sarvadhikari, B. L., Canning College, Lucknow : Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co. 1882.

PROFESSOR Sarvadhikari has produced under the above title a most acceptable addition to the literature of Hindu Law. Of the origin of this law, in general, he gives a useful summary ; and using, as he does, the aid not only of eminent European Sanskritists, but also of the great modern thinkers, Maine and Herbert Spencer, he has given a substantial contribution to the philosophic history of the subject. The work, of course, has its practical side also ; and many to whom these things are indifferent may use his *Lectures* as a text-book. But as literary critics we shall here confine ourselves to a slight analysis of the work from a purely literary point of view.

The Aryan doctrine of succession is based upon an early though a deeply scientific view of life. No man stands alone : his ancestors live in him as he in turn will have posthumous life in any posterity that may follow him. Hence arose a respect for the memory of the dead which, originating in Central Asia, characterised alike the Western emigration and the races who remained stationary or moved to the South. To this day, even among the more progressive of European nations, the English for example, survivals of the custom of ancestor-worship can be observed. There, as our author observes, it is no longer connected with a legal obligation, for " the point of development at which law breaks away from religion has been passed." But in the older nations of Europe, while the influences of their common Asiatic memories still lingered, and before the majestic figure of Roman jurisprudence had arisen to place the pronouncing and enforcing of law alike under the sole power of the secular sovereign, whether in Italy or in Greece, the ancient system long endured. Readers of Roman history remember the old Patricians with their mysterious tribal *Sacra*, and the *Comitia* which, long after it had lost political authority, continued to have a sacramental function for the tribes. Among the Greeks the

performance of funeral rites for a deceased kinsman was necessary before his spirit could enter the Elysian fields. The Persians, as represented by the modern Parsis, held similar views of the matter.

Not that any of these systems,—including that of the Vedic Aryans themselves—contemplated the intricate ceremonies practised by modern Hindus, or the complicated "statute of distributions" which has ensued. "A child-like simplicity," we are told, in the 2nd Lecture, "pervades, in the earlier books of the Rig Veda, the spirit of the hymns to ancestors, and we cannot believe but that the inspired sages of ancient India never dreamed of the elaborate systems of ancestor-worship invented in comparatively modern times by the followers of the Brahmanic faith." It was not so much a special invocation of the members of a family who had gone before, as a kind of All-souls' Day in which the progenitors of the tribe in general were summoned by the offering of such simple cakes as the living loved to partake of, and were supposed to hallow the feast by an invisible presence. Out of this, after the lapse of centuries, the ingenuity of priestly lawyers evolved the idea of the *Srádh*, a word which seems to point to denominational orthodoxy, and to furnish unmistakeable indications of a sacerdotal origin. Atheists are expressly excluded by the earliest authority on the subject, as are also sons who should avail themselves of the lawful but seemingly disapproved practice of partitioning the family estate during the father's lifetime and against his will. "These were outcasts in Hindu society," says the author, "and were looked upon with contempt."

The duty and privilege of performing these funeral ceremonies devolved primarily upon the *Sapindas;* so called, either because they were regarded as of the same *body*, or because they were entitled to join in offering the same *cake*. The Professor tells us that the etymology is angrily contested among the Pandits; and not ours be it to determine such high debates. It seems, however probable that, be the derivation what it may, the word originally indicated only what in the earlier Roman law were called *agnates*, the offspring of male descendants of a common *pater familias*. But there came to be Sapindas *ex-parte materna* also, though there was always both a difference and an inferiority between the two classes. Our author at page 57 shows that the right of Sapindaship was confined to agnatic relations so late as the time of Manu, say about the date of the Christian era.

The special genesis of the particular form assumed by ancestor-worship in the Brahmanic order of things is thus accounted for. In the origin of the Aryan system the power of a father was absolute. Before Roman law becomes known to us, it

had already mitigated the worst features of this intolerable domestic despotism. But among the early Hindus it was maintained for a long period. Post-Vedic legends show us instances of the sale of sons by their fathers, even when it was known that the purchase was made for the ghastly purpose of human sacrifice. Out of this arose, as a first modification, the notion of the "joint undivided family," where the corporation has passed from an aggregate of passive slaves to a sort of trading firm managed by the father for the common benefit. It was in this stage that Roman law was when the disputes occurred—whatever they were, which led to the first attempt at codification: and from that happy expedient the ever-expanding society derived the impulse which enabled it to develope itself from homogenous incoherence to the true model of an organic State. The Hindus, unhappily, from a variety of conditions, failed to obtain this organisation. Their needs were both fewer and less urgently felt: and they allowed the law to remain in the hands of the priests and to continue invested with a quasi-sacred character. Nevertheless their societies were too vast and energetic not to require some evolution: the rights of individuals asserted themselves to some extent—though in the interest of males and to the depression of females—and "communism had to make some concessions to individual rights."

Out of this compromise sprang the *Srádh*, which is thus a useful turning-point in Hindu social history, showing that in the Post-Vedic times—and probably a century or two after the Macedonian invasion—occurred a great movement which originated modern Hindu social law. "The dignity of the individual was maintained, and his grievances were removed without injury to the corporate existence of the family." The father would thus live after he was dead, and receive in the grave that share of the love and joy of his children which his solitary greatness had forbidden him when above ground and presiding over the affairs of the corporation. The Srádh became the synthesis of *patria potestas* with human weakness, and "the very corner-stone, as it were, of the Hindu Law of Inheritance."

Having devoted so much space to the general scope of the work, we may be pardoned for passing somewhat more hurriedly over the details. These, indeed, have for the most part less of literary interest than of technical value. By far the most important of the secondary topics is treated of in the 4th Lecture—that on "the sources of Hindu Law." Adopting the more sceptical and moderate chronological views which are gradually prevailing in Europe, Professor Sarvadhikari notes that the most venerated source of Hindu Law in the code—if so

it may be called—of Manu. This is a quasi-poetical treatise, somewhat resembling the Brethon Law of Ireland; claiming to repose on Divine authority and the Rock of Ages; but in reality a semi-theoretical scheme, rather dealing with what ought to be than with what is; an ideal of great use and service, rather than an inflexible rule and standard for actual human conduct in all its details.

The actual Digests by which the evolution of modern Hindu life has been conducted (and by which the Courts that the modern Hindus owe to the wise and humane policy of foreign rulers are still guided) are two. The *Mitakshara*, prevalent in the less advanced parts of the country, where orthodoxy is strictest and social organisation least complicated; and the *Dayabhaga*, which is followed by the enlightened and energetic races of Lower Bengal. The *Mitakshara* is a good deal the earlier, as may be supposed; having been, in our author's opinion, composed at the end of the 11th century of the Christian era, just about the time of the first Muhamadan conquest. It rests upon evidence unusually good for Hindu history that the Chalukya monarch, Vikrama, at whose Court the work professes to have been written, was the son of a warlike ruler whose capital was at Kalyána in the Deccan, about one hundred miles west of Haidarabad. Ancient coins and inscriptions show that he succeeded his father in A. D. 1076. Thus the great Digest which still governs three-fourths of the Hindu race, is the product of the very end of the independent Hindu period, when the great dramatic cycle also came to an end. The other leading law-book, the *Dayabhaga*—is of a much later date.

The origin of this important school is thus traced by our author. About the year 1325 A. D. a disciple of the Mitakshara school had set up a system of law in Tirhut, which spread into the neighbouring districts. To combat this Jimatavahana undertook to write a treatise that should show what the law of Bengal was—or ought to be—and the *Dayabhaga* was the result of the undertaking. He showed that the teaching of the Mitakshara Doctors involved an interpretation of ancient texts that was untrue, or at least was obsolete, and inapplicable to his part of the country. "The other teachers," says our author, "cite precedents and authorities in support of their views; but Jimatavahana appeals to reason." In other words, he is a reformer, breaking through the pedantic conservatism of those who cling to the past and its traditions; and wise enough, or happy enough, to do so at the moment when the society to which he belonged was ready for the change. Future Indian jurists

must take his work as their point of departure; and though we are not of the number of those who would hurry on the codification of Indian law, especially by foreigners, we would recommend the *Dayabhaga* to the earnest attention of all concerns in law-making, present or to come, in this country. Referring to Prof. Sarvadhikari's book all who are, in the meantime, curious to see the details of development as shown by the Bengal school, we will here only note that it adopts the more liberal and progressive doctrines in regard to every subject on which there is a conflict between the schools.

H.G. K.

---

*Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources.* Translated from the Tibetian of the Kah-Gyur, by F. Anton Von Schiefner, Done into English from the German, with an Introduction, by W. R. S. Ralston, M.A., London. Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London, 1882.

THERE are in all fifty tales brought together in this volume of varying length and merit. All of them more or less bearing little or much resemblance to European Folk-tales already well known. Generally, the longer stories bear least resemblance to the shorter, most though all of them have features common both to Europe and Asia. Mr. Ralston in his introduction says that the tales contained in the sacred books of Tibet appear to have little that is specially Tibetian about them except their language. Stories, he says, possessing characteristic features and suffused with local color may possibly live in the memories of the natives of that region of lofty and bleak table-lands with which so few Europeans have had an opportunity of becoming familiar, but the legends and fables of the Tales from Tibetian sources here translated are merely Tibetian versions of Sanskrit writings. "No mention is made in them of those peculiarities of Tibetan Buddhism which have most struck the fancy of foreign observers. They never allude to the rosary of 108 beads which every Tibetan carries that he may keep a reckoning of his good words which supply to him the place of good deeds, the praying wheels, those curious machines which filled with prayers or charms or passages from holy books, stand in the towns on every open place, are placed beside the foot-paths and the roads, revolve in every stream, and even are turned by every breeze which blows." The actions and thoughts, then, of the people of Tibet, are not by any means fully represented in these tales, they are simple relics, mutilated, changed, augmented, curtailed of Sanskrit writings which represent a stage of civilization that can scarcely be said to exist at the present day in Tibet.

Nevertheless they have their value as folk-tales, and the translation here presented of F. Anton Schiefner's work could scarcely have fallen into better hands than those of Mr. Ralston. An Introduction of some sixty-four pages gives the leading facts in the lives of those scholars who have given their attention to gaining a knowledge of the Tibetan literature and language, as well as an analysis of the tales. As a specimen of the tales, though not by any means the most characteristic, we venture to reproduce "The jackal as calumniator."

"In long-past times there lived in a forest a lioness with her cub and a tigress with her cub. While the lioness was absent one day, her cub, while wandering about, came into the neighbourhood of the tigress. When the tigress saw it, she was going to kill it, but she changed her mind, seeing that the young lion might be a playfellow for her own cub, and so she began to give it suck. The lioness, on her return from her outing, not finding her young one, set to work to look for it, and at length saw the tigress suckling it. When the tigress perceived the lioness, she was frightened and began to run away. But the lioness cried out to the tigress, "O sister, run not away. Let us dwell together, so that, when I go out, you can take care of my young one, and when you go out, I will take care of yours." So they took to dwelling together, and they called the lion cub Sudanshthra, and the tiger cub Subāhu. And the two cubs grew up.

"After a time the lioness and the tigress fell ill, and when the time for their departure came, they said to the two young beasts, 'O children, as ye have both sucked the same dugs, be ye brothers. The world is full of evil calumniators, take heed after our death not to listen to any of them.'

"Now the young lion was wont to kill gazelles, and to devour their good flesh and lap their good blood, and then, having done this, to betake himself at once to his lair. But the young tiger, when he went out, underwent great fatigue in killing gazelles, and having devoured their flesh and lapped their blood, returned home after a long absence. One day the tiger devoured the remains of a meal which he had hidden away, and then returned quickly home. The lion asked, 'How is it that you, who never came back before till after a long time, have returned to-day so soon?' The tiger replied, 'I have eaten the stores which I had set aside.' The lion asked, 'Do you lay up stores, then?' The tiger said that it did. The lion said, 'When I have slain gazelles and eaten their good flesh and lapped their good blood, I am wont to go away without troubling myself further.' The tiger replied, 'You are strong. I cannot do like that.' The lion said, 'Let us go together.' So they took to going out together.

"Now an old, very malicious, remainder-devouring jackal, was in the habit of following after this lion, the king of the beasts. The jackal considered that the tiger was the antagonist of his maw, and that he must set those two animals at variance. So he came into the presence of the lion with drooping ears. The lion said, 'O uncle, has any hot wind arisen?'

"The jackal replied, 'O nephew, a very scorching wind has arisen.'

"'What has happened then?'

'This tiger has said, 'Where has my lion-grass gone? As he leaves me to feed on remnants, I will assuredly kill him.'

"The lion replied, 'O uncle, our two mothers said to us just before they died,' 'O children, as ye two have sucked the same dugs, be brothers. The world is full of evil calumniators. Take heed that after we are both dead, ye do not listen to any one among them. As they have left such a legacy behind them, do not you speak in that way.'

"The jackal said, 'As you will not listen to my well-meant words, you will come to ruin.'

"The lion said, 'O uncle, what will be the course of events?'

"The jackal replied, 'O nephew, the tiger will come forth from his lair, and will stretch himself, and after stretching he will yawn, and after yawning he will look round on all four sides, and after looking round on all four sides he will roar three times, and then come into your presence and think, 'He will kill me.' Be sure of this.'

"Afterwards the jackal went with drooping ears to the tiger. The tiger asked, 'O uncle, has some hot wind arisen?'

"The jackal replied, 'O nephew, a very scorching wind has arisen.'

"'What has happened then?'

"This lion has said, 'Where has my tiger-grass gone? I will assuredly kill him.'

"The tiger said, 'O uncle, our two mothers said to us, just before they died, 'O children, as ye have sucked the same breast, be brothers. The world is full of evil calumniators. Take heed that ye do not listen to any of them. As they have left us this legacy do not you speak in that way.'

"The jackal replied, 'O nephew, as you will not listen to my well-meant words, you will go to ruin.'

"'O uncle, what then will be the course of events?'

"'O nephew, this lion will come forth from his lair and will stretch himself, and after stretching he will yawn, and after yawning he will look round on all four sides, and after looking round on all four sides, he will roar three times, and then come into your presence,' and think, 'He will kill me.' Be sure of all this.

"Now although both of them were in the habit of acting in this way, according to their natures, they had never taken any notice of that. But one day the lion, the king of beasts, came forth from his lair and stretched himself, and yawned, and looked round on all four sides, and roared three times, and then went into the presence of the tiger. The tiger also came forth from his lair, and stretched himself and yawned, and looked round on all four sides, and then went into the presence of the lion. Although both of them had always been in the habit of doing all this, yet they had never taken any notice of the fact. But now that the seed of discord was sown, they did notice it. Just as the lion thought that the tiger wanted to kill him, so also the tiger thought that the lion wanted to kill him. But then the lion thought, 'I am strong, but the tiger is not. As he cannot then master me, I will investigate the matter further.' So he uttered this sloka—

"'O Subāhu, to strive with Sudanshthra, possessor of complete excellence, agility, and force, is not right.'

"The tiger also replied in a sloka, 'O Sudanshthra, to strive with Subāhu, possessor of complete excellence, agility, and force, is not right.'

"The lion asked, 'Who spoke to you about this?'

"The tiger replied, 'The jackal.'

"Then the tiger asked, 'Who spoke to you about this?'

"The lion replied, 'The jackal.'

"Then the lion thought, 'This creature wanted to set us two at variance,' and struck the jackal dead with a slap in the face. Then a deity uttered this sloka—

"Friends ought not to be abandoned on account of the words of others, but the words of others ought to be tested. No reliance ought to be placed upon calumniators, who seek opportunities for sowing discord. See how the jackal, who desired to set friends at variance by means of lies, was put to death as a calumniator, while the friends were happy and rejoiced."

---

*The Sarva-dar-sana-samgraha*, or review of the different systems of Hindu Philosophy, by Mádhava Achárya. Translated by E. B. Cowell, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Cambridge, and A. E. Gough, M.A., Professor of Philosophy in the Presidency College, and Principal of the Madrassa, Calcutta. London, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1882.

THE present translation is the combined work of Professors Cowell and Gough, who, each of them; had the assistance of Pandits in Calcutta and Benares. The translation does not profess to be faultless. To begin with the manuscript copies, though

scarce and seemingly derived from one copy are found, all alike, to contain mistakes which probably had their origin in illegible passages in the Telugu original. The translations here reproduced originally appeared in the Benares Pandit between 1874 and 1878, and since then they have been carefully revised. Professor Cowell in the preface says :—

The work itself is an interesting specimen of Hindu critical ability. The author successively passes in review the sixteen philosophical systems current in the fourteenth century in the South of India, and gives what appeared to him to be their most important tenets, and the principal arguments by which their followers endeavoured to maintain them ; and he often displays some quaint humour as he throws himself for the time into the position of their advocate, and holds, as it were, a temporary brief in behalf of opinions entirely at variance with his own. We may sometimes differ from him in his judgment of the relative importance of their doctrines, but it is always interesting to see the point of view of an acute native critic. In the course of his sketches he frequently explains at some length obscure details in the different systems ; and I can hardly imagine a better guide for the European reader who wishes to study any one of these Darsanas in its native authorities. In one or two cases (as notably in the Bauddha, and perhaps in the Jaina system) he could only draw his materials second-hand from the discussions in the works of Brahmanical controversialists ; but in the great majority he quotes directly from the works of their founders, or leading exponents, and he is continually following in their track even where he does not quote their exact words.

The systems are arranged from the Vedánta point of view, —our author having been elected, in A.D. 1331, the head of the Smárta order in the Math of Sringeri in the Mysore territory, founded by Samkara Achárya, the great Vedántist teacher of the eighth century, through whose efforts the Vedánta became what it is at present—the acknowledged view of Hindu orthodoxy. The systems form a gradually ascending scale,—the first, the Chárváka and Bauddha, being the lowest as the furthest removed from the Vedánta, and the last, the Sánkhya and Yoga, being the highest as approaching most nearly to it.

The sixteen systems here discussed attracted to their study the noblest minds in India throughout the mediæval period of its history.

The volume forms one of the most valuable contributions to the oriental series at present in the course of issue by Trübner & Co. The Appendix on the Upádhi, or condition, a peculiarity of Hindu logic little known in Europe, is something more than a curiosity.

*Report of the Meteorology of India in* 1880. By Henry F. Blanford, F.R.S., Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. Calcutta, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India.

THIS is the sixth year of the issue of these reports, which deal with all the details recorded at the numerous stations in India. The present report is more extensive than any of the previous years, as it includes two stations lying to the west of the Indian Ocean, namely, the Island of Zanzibar and Aden. The observations recorded at the various stations are summarised and discussed in a very able manner by Mr. Blanford, the mean results of the year being compared with corresponding average of previous years, and differences or anomalies discussed in their mutual relation. Among the special subjects noticed in addition to the foregoing, are the questions of the relation of temperature to pressure, and the opposite march of pressure variations in the higher and lower atmosphere, Mr. F. Chambers' hypothesis of the passage from west to east of anomalous variations of pressure, the relation of unusual falls of snow on the Himalaya to the subsequent prevalence of dry west winds in Upper India: the history of the storm which caused the memorable disaster of the Naini Tal landslip, and the conditions which led up to and accompanied the rainfall of the cold weather months. The information on this subject given in the present report tends very considerably to modify the views formerly held regarding the conditions of this rainfall which is so important to Upper India. With regard to the relation between the Himalaya snow fall and the subsequent prevalence of dry west winds in Upper India, Mr. Blandford says :—

"I have pointed out, in previous reports, that in several instances, in the last few years, it has seemed as if an unusual precipitation of snow on the North-West Himalaya (including possibly the ranges of Afghanistan) were the forerunner of a prolonged period of dry weather in North-Western India, accompanied with the characteristic westerly or north-westerly winds; and it is probably only another instance of this association of north-westerly winds, and snowfall, that, as a general rule, a fall of winter rain in the Punjab, (which is generally accompanied with snow on the surrounding mountains), is followed by a great rise of pressure in Western or North-Western India, and a westerly or north-westerly wind, blowing down the North-Western Provinces and across Central India. Of this common phenomenon, instances have been given in the present report, pages 143 and 144; and also in those for 1878, pages 129, 130, and for 1879, pages 136 and 154.

"From October to February the north-westerly wind is unusually cool, and this is especially the case with that which springs up after a fall of rain. But from the middle of March onward, the westerly wind, with somewhat less northing and more strength, becomes the characteristic hot wind of Upper and Central India. Beyond these slight differences of direction and strength, the current appears to be similar to the cool wind of the earlier months, and there can be little doubt that it is of essentially the same origin, *viz.*, a general drainage of air from the surrounding mountains, which in the spring months becomes intensely heated by passing over the dry and heated plains of Upper and Western India. The striking contrast of temperature that characterises this wind in January and February on, the one hand, and in April and May on the other, would seem thus to depend on the rise in the temperature of the ground, and the rapid desiccation both of the ground surface and the scanty vegetation of the plains of Upper India, under the ascending sun. Hence it appears that, while in January and February, a fall of snow on the mountain zone, accompanied as it generally is by rain on the plains, produces a general depression of temperature, as soon as the cloud has cleared off, an unusual accumulation of snow on the former in the later months—March, April and May, and even in August—may, and apparently does, favour the prevalence of hot dry winds blowing from nearly the same quarter.

"This, it seems to me, is, in part at least, the most probable explanation of the heat of March and April 1881, and also of the prolonged interruption of the rains in August, which was so marked a feature of the year. These periods of unusual heat and aridity may, indeed, be partly dependent on another class of phenomena next to be noticed, *viz.*, the prevalence of a high atmospheric pressure, which is, perhaps, of independent origin, and the cause of which is much more obscure."

The other chief meteorological features of the year are generalised as follows:—

The persistence of a mean atmospheric pressue below the average during the first half of the year, and above it during the latter months; each condition, in so far as regards the total pressure on the plains, being maintained independently of the great oscillations of temperature already noticed. The abnormally low pressure of the first half of the year was only the terminal phase of a state of things that had lasted, with only partial and local interruption, for not less than one year and ten months, and it was certainly not dependent on the temperature of the lower atmosphere, since, while it prevailed, the temperature

sometimes greatly exceeded, at other times fell strikingly below the normal average. Not, indeed, that changes of temperature were without influence on the pressure, but their chief effect seems to have been on its vertical distribution, *viz.*, in altering the relative densities of the higher and lower atmospheric strata so that, *e.g.*, the deficiency of pressure which lasted, on the whole, with little variation through the first six months, was due, sometimes to the deficient density and high temperature of the lower atmospheric strata, sometimes to the greatly diminished pressure of the more elevated strata, lying above 7,000 feet; as is shown by the deficiency of pressure at the hill stations, exceeding that on the plains.

"The deficiency of the rainfall over North-Western and Western India (excepting Gujrat) and Ceylon, that is to say, over those parts of India which receive their rainfall mainly from the Arabian Sea; and the excess over Bengal, and countries to the east and south-east, and also over the eastern parts of the peninsula; in other words, on those portions of the area, which are watered principally by the precipitation of the Bay of Bengal branch of the monsoon. The former being, on the average, the more important source of the supply, and that on which depends the major portion of the area, the net result is that, the total rainfall of the whole area was appreciably below the general average.

"In the former region, Gujrat formed a partial exception, but this was due chiefly to a quite unusual precipitation over a portion of the province in July and September. It was comparatively local, and does not materially affect the validity to the above general statement. So also in the North-West Provinces, where the deficiency, estimated as a proportion of the general average fall, was greater than in any other province; there was a small tract, in and around Rohilkhand, in which the September rainfall was such as is almost without recorded precedent on the plains of India, and a smaller but still considerable excess fell in June and July. These appear to be additional instances of a phenomenon which has been also noticed in previous annual reports, *viz.*, that an excessive rainfall over a restricted area is frequently repeated, and sometimes more than once in the same season; while surrounding tracts receive only a normal supply or even a deficiency. And, taken in conjunction with the prevailing deficiency around, they also illustrate a phenomenon that I have observed in many cases, and which Mr. Chambers has also noticed, *viz.*, that tracts of low average rainfall, and seasons of generally deficient rainfall, are those which present the greatest irregularities.

"The provinces which, in proportion to the general average of past years, received the most copious supply, were the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, Orissa and Bengal. In the first named province, this was due principally to the excessive wetness of the usual autumn monsoon, especially in the month of November. In some parts, the total was augmented by the rainfall of a small cyclone, which was felt on the coast in the latter part of the month. But, even subtracting this, the fall was much in excess of the average, and this was equally the case in those parts of the province which were but slightly affected by the cyclone. In Bengal and Orissa, the regular monsoon rains set in earlier than usual, and were fairly copious thoroughout (except perhaps in July). Even in August, when the rains failed almost entirely in North-Western, and to a great extent also in Western India, the fall was excessive in Northern Bengal, and the break was only partially felt and of short duration in the westerly districts of that province.

"The facts, recounted above, indicate that a marked deficiency of rainfall in any given season is more due to the local inequalities of its distribution, than to the operation of any world-wide agency, and afford a useful lesson how unsafe is the attempt to educe general laws of periodical variation from the discussion of the registers of a few stations, however accurate and trustworthy; nay, even from those of a large tract of country, such as the Carnatic or Western India.

---

*The Yâtrâs*, or the popular Dramas of Bengal. By Nisikânta Chattopâdhyâya. London, Trübner &. Co.: Ludgate Hill, 1882.

THE first European scholar who mentioned the Yâtrâs was Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, who more than fifty years ago, published *The Theatre of the Hindus*, in two volumes, copies of which may still be picked up at old book stalls. J. L. Klein in his *Geschichte des Dramas*, especially in the third volume gives the most complete account of the Dramatic literature of the Hindus as yet given in any European language. Klein, however, appears to have obtained all, or the major part of his information from Wilson. With the exception, then, of Wilson and Klein, no other authors have attempted any thing like a complete account of the Hindu Drama. Isolated examples, of course, there are, but these two authors almost cover the whole field. The present little work of some fifty pages is an unpretending and a very successful effort to place before the English reading public an account more complete than that either of Wilson or Klein of the Hindu Drama. There are eight pieces which

recount the history of *Khristna and Rama* and the heroes of the Mahabhârata who fought and fell on the field of Kurukshetra; these, and many others are very popular in Bengal and are acted, not only during the three feasts and processions in honour of Khristna, but all through the year, "in all months and seasons in all festive occasions, religious and secular." Of these eight pieces three have been printed, and the author Cri Krishna Kamala Gosvami is still alive and residing at Dacca in Eastern Bengal

"Like the Sanskrit dramas, these three *Yâtrâs* begin with what in Sanskrit are called the *Pârvaranga* (fore-play, induction) and the *Prastâvanâ* (prologue), though both in a somewhat different form. The *Pârvaranga* in the *Yâtrâs* also begins with a *Nândî*, or as it is called in the *Vicitravilâsa*, with a *Mangalagîtam*, a prayer or benedictory formula addressed to the Divinity whom the author worships, in the present cases to *Chaitanya* or *Gaura-Hari*, the latest *Avatara*, or Incarnation of *Vishnu*, who manifested himself in *Navadvipa*, a town in West Bengal, between the years 1485-1533 of the Christian era—that is to say, almost at the same time when *Kavira** and *Nanaka* in the North-West Provinces of India, and Luther, Zwingli and Calvin in the heart of Europe were inaugurating a similar reformation. This *Nândî*, or the *Mangalagîtam*, is then followed by the *Prastâvanâ* (prologue), in which the *Adhikarî* (*Regisseur*, or Proprietor, occupying the place of the *Sûtradhara* in the Sanskrit dramas) not only indicates what is immediately to follow, but refers also to occurrences prior to the actual argument of the piece itself. Thus the complimentary remarks with which the Sanskrit dramatists as usual introduce themselves, or incense their audience in the *Pârvaranga*, are omitted in these *Yâtrâs*, although I recollect to have occasionally seen pieces where they were not omitted. The *Prastâvanâ* (prologue) in these pieces is also somewhat different. It is not in a *dialogue* as in the Sanskrit dramas, but always in a *monologue* pronounced by the *Adhikarî*. Thus the *Prastâvanâ* of a Sanskrit drama bears analogy to the prologues of some of the contemporary dramatists of Shakespeare in England,† or to the well-known prologue of Goethe's *Faust*, while that of the *Yâtrâs* rather to those of Euripides and Plautus.‡ I may, perhaps, not inconveniently add that Goethe wrote his, prologue to the "Faust" after having read the "Sakuntalâ," and having been incited to it by the perusal.§

---

* Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus," Barth: "Les Religions de l'Inde,—" p. 143.

† Wilson's "Theatre of the Hindus," Vol. I., xxxiv.

‡ Weber's "Allgemeine Weltgeschichte," II., 536.

§ Klein, "Geschichte des Dramas," III., 62.

"The *Nândî* or the *Mangalagîtam* is sung by the whole company of actors, presided over, if possible, by the *Gosvamî* himself; if not, by the *Adhikarî* or the Regisseur who has bought the piece, or taken the responsibility of its acting.

"After the *Prastâvanâ*, the real dramatical story, *Vastu* (res) opens, and is carried on, not as in the modern European or the antique Sanskrit dramas, divided into *acts* and *scenes*, but as in the mediæval Christian *Mysteries*, into *passio*, *sepultura* and *resurrectio*, or, as in the ancient Greek dramas, into *prologue episode* and *exode*. All *Yâtrâs* belong to this class. There is, however, one single exception to this rule, and that is *Vicitravilasa*, the last of the three *Yâtrâs* under consideration. The reverend author, evidently with the laudable intention of giving something more refined to his audience, as he indicates in the preface, has done his best to throw his work into the mould of a Sanskrit drama, and has thus introduced *acts* and *scenes*, otherwise foreign to this *genre* of composition. Thus the *Vicitravilasa* is divided into *five acts* (Ankas), each of which again is divided into *several scenes* (Garbhankas), of which there is, however, no trace whatever in any other *Yâtrâs*. Thus the *Vicitravilasa* is particularly interesting, as representing a *transitional form* of drama between the popular *Yâtrâs* and the classical Sanskrit dramas. It is to the dramatical literature of India what "Forrex and Porrex" was to the dramatical literature of England."*

---

*Extracts from Man and Nature*, or the Earth as Modified by Human Action. By G. P. Marsh: With some notes on Forests and Rain-Fall in Madras, by A. J. Stuart, Madras Civil Service. Madras, Higginbotham & Co. 1882.

MARSH'S Man and Nature is sufficiently well known to need no notice here. The notes of Mr. A. J. Stuart are carefully thought out, closely reasoned and clearly set forth, and should certainly be read by all having any interest in the topics with which they deal. The notes occupy only some thirty-two pages of the pamphlet, and there is an addendum of twelve pages consisting of a Report republished from the *Fort St. George Gazette*, of a visit to the English and Scotch Forests by the professors and students from the Nancy Forest School, by M. Boppe, Inspector of French Forests. The following is Mr. Stuart's recapitulation of the advantages which a large proportion of forest covered land would secure in India:—

"The perennial supply in streams and rivers would increase, and

---

* "Gesammelte Schriften," von Bodenstedt, and Spalding's "History of the English Literature"—p. 187.

new springs, and streams spring up where none exists now, the levels of wells be raised and their supply more abundant and continuous; high floods in rivers reduced and less water wasted into the sea, tanks and channels not so much silted up by torrents following every heavy rain, carrying along sand and silt in great quantity; less danger to irrigation works, tanks, channels, etc., from sudden and violent floods; improvement of climate by cooling; safety of crops from locusts, caterpillars or other insects, due to preservation of small birds; improvement of cultivation by concentration of effort upon the best lands and by manure put to its proper use when firewood is abundant; multiplication of cattle in proportion to land cultivated by the large supply of fodder produced in properly kept jungles; ample and cheap supply of wood for building and other purposes; impetus to industrial arts and manufactures of all kinds the result of cheap fuel.

"Will any one deny that this is a pretty long list of undisputed advantages possessed by a tropical country half covered with forests over one wholly or almost wholly denuded of them. And when it is added that not one-fourth of the whole area of the Madras Presidency is in fact now under the plough, does there not seem a fair field for an improvement of all the conditions of life on a large scale by extensive re-forestation of the plains.

"Be it always remembered, that the point of the whole of the above argument rests upon the fact that we are dealing with a *tropical* and not a temperate climate. Great Britain half wood might be and probably would be anything but a pleasant place to live in, but India half wood would as I think is above proved to be certainly a more agreeable abode from all possible points of view than it is at present.

Granting then that a proportion of forest to bare or cultivated country varying from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ would be an incalculable benefit to this country, the question comes, how is such a state of things to be obtained, especially when the condition of the finances and the many calls upon them in this country, are taken into consi deration. The reply is, the question, what practical steps have to be taken, and what are they likely to cost? The first and by far the most important step is a simple and not expensive one, *viz.*, the fencing of large areas and watching them in such a manner as to keep out cattle, goats, and other browsing animals and fire. This alone will secure the natural growth of scrub and low bushes at first, followed by occasional trees of the common kinds as the babool, the white thorn, etc., which in many places grow quite spontaneously if protected from animals. The process of fencing has upon I think sufficient reliable data been

calculated to cost from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 per acre, the blocks being of considerable size.

"The next step is the ploughing of such fenced or protected areas with single furrows at intervals of 3 or 4 yards apart, and sowing the ridges turned up, with the seeds of such trees as are found to be indigenous to the district, and which may therefore be expected, if sown in the rains, to grow without watering and further care than protection from animals and the cultivator. This process carried on systematically and upon a large scale would be found to cost a very small sum per acre.

"And these are the only two processes required to effect the required transformation, given besides time and the land. For the last a legal provision enabling the best lands now waste to be taken up and reserved for this purpose the cultivator and his animals being kept out of them, and fenced, ploughed and sown by degrees as funds are available, is the simple but necessary requirement. These steps, taken upon a carefully arranged system, may fairly be expected to produce the most desirable result in a time proportioned to the funds available for expenditure upon it. Whenever money is available, five years should suffice to protect the ground fairly well from the sun, and it must depend, therefore, upon how many square miles of country there is money enough to deal with, how many years must be allowed for gaining the desired result.

A cheaper but still probably an effective plan will be to reserve, on the whole, say twice as large an area as it is intended to make into real forest, a few prosecutions for trespass and impounding of cattle will suffice to prevent trespasser or cattle venturing beyond the outer edges of the area reserved and the inner portion, that intended to be in future real forest, may then be protected without the expense of fencing. All that would be wanted being a broad cleared boundary line round the whole, beyond which men and cattle would know they are trespassing, and a staff of forest guards, for the first year strong, but reduced every succeeding year as the people learn to respect the boundary."

---

*Tarjuma-i Alif Laila Ba-Zubán-i-Urdu.* (Do-jild ba-harfát-i-yúrop) Romanized under the Superintendence of T. W. H. Tolbort, B.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, Deputy Commissioner, Ambála, and edited by Frederic Pincott, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, W. H. Allen & Co., London : 1882.

THIS is a Romanized version of a spirited translation into Urdú of the Alif-Laila, the Thousand and One Nights, in which

coarse expressions and whatever else might offend the finer sense or modesty of modern taste is expurgated. The special feature of this edition is, that it is printed in the Roman character in order to meet the requirements of those who prefer the Roman to the Arabic character, and also to facilitate the studies of those who wish to acquire an accurate knowledge of the Urdú language. The method of transliteration employed, is the system known as the Jonesian, found in the popular works of the late Duncan Forbes. There are idioms peculiar to the book which present divergencies from standard Urdú which the student would do well to study who wishes to master the translation.

---

*Records of the Geological Survey of India.* Vol. XV, Part 3. Geological Survey Office, and Trübner & Co. London.

THE present number sustains the well earned reputation of these records. Of the seven papers which Part 3 contains, four are devoted to coal-fields and outcrops of coal. The most important, commercially, of these four, is the Note on the Umaria Coal-field (south Reweh Gondwana basin) by Theodore W. H. Hughes, A.R.S.M., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey of India. Mr. Hughes calculates that with an average thickness of 14 feet, there are available, within an area of three square miles, 28 millions of tons of coal at a depth of 300 feet from the surface. About 100 tons of this coal was tried on the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsula railways, and its working power has been estimated at 41 lbs. the train mile. On analysis, it yields from 52·4 to 59·0 of fixed carbon. The coal is good and there is abundance of it; it is within one hour's railway journey of Kutni, and from its geographical position, it is one of the most important sources of supply for Central and Upper India. Mr. Hughes believes that it will be of immense utility to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and to the feeders of that line, and he has no doubt that an up-country consumption will be established.

The importance of developing the coal, iron and other mineral fields of India cannot be over-estimated, and capital flowing in this direction, judiciously invested, and intelligently directed, is certain to bring large returns.

---

*Songs from the Sunny South.* By John Cameron Grant. Longmans, Green & Co. London: 1882.

'SONGS from the Sunny South' is evidently the production of a young singer, hastily written, and, in our estimation,

too hastily published. The experience which years usually bring with them cannot be acquired either intuitively or from books. It is only as the years mature that thought matures, and so men "rise on stepping stones" of their own selves to higher and better things. In youth the imagination is active, and in young poets, it fills their works with beautiful imagery not always true to life, but at all events pleasing, musical and flowing. Imagination, however, without the sweet and sad experience of life, never made a great poet.

---

*Poems, Original and Translated:* By H. G. Keene, author of "Peepul Leaves," &c. Printed at the "Englishman" Press. Calcutta, 1882.

THE name of Mr. H. G. Keene is too well known to th readers of the *Calcutta Review*, to which he has contributed over a long series of years, to need any introduction. He has occupied a foremost place in Anglo-Indian literature for many years. As a historian, poet and essayist, his works are well known, and he is probably the most accomplished of the long line of Anglo-Indian poets who have produced readable verses. His poetry has been characterised as "exquisitely musical, full of strength and airy grace, of feeling alike refined and profound, and distinguished by great versatility of form and theme." His latest volume, "Poems, Original and Translated," if it does not extend his reputation, it at all events sustains it. The translations are of a very high order, and in them Mr. Keene appears in a new light. To reproduce the rhythm, the music and the thought of one language in another, is an effort which, even when most successful, often falls far short of the original. Some of Mr. Keene's translations are excellent. "The Grave," from Von Salis is probably as good an example of his power in this respect as any other in the volume.

By the deep grave's unechoing brink
We mortals shuddering stand,
Where, with a sable pall, it hides
The undiscovered land.

The music of the nightingale
We do not hear above;
Only upon the mossy mounds
Fall faded flowers of love.

There brides bereaved are wringing
Their hands so vainly round,
There orphan's wailings cannot pierce
The inexorable ground.

Ah! but yet here alone we find
The peace we love the best;
Through that dark door alone we win
Our everlasting rest.

Yes ! the poor heart that in the world
So many tempests bore
Can only know its true repose
Here, when it beats no more.

"Memory," from Alfred De Musset, probably occupies a higher rank than the preceding :

AH Time ! strong lord of lightly-flying hours,
Our sighs, our tears, thou bearest them all away ;
But, pity-smitten, on our faded flowers
Thy footsteps never stray.

* * * *

Away with idle words and fond conceits,
The hackneyed funeral pomp of vulgar woe,
Which those who never loved on mock regrets
In vain pretence bestow.
Why saidst thou, Dante, that 'tis grief's worst sting
To think, in sorrow, on past happiness ?
What spasm from thee that bitter cry could wring
That insult to distress ?
Is then the light less certain or less glad,
And (when night falls) forgotten in the gloom ?
Is it from thee, spirit sublimely sad,
From thee we have such doom ?
No ! by the splendour of yon shining moon,
Not from thy heart this blasphemy so void ;
A happy memory is a truer boon
For life, than bliss enjoyed.

* * * *

"Carpe Diem," is an old friend which appeared in 1880 in *Sketches in Indian Ink*, and those of our readers who may have had any doubts regarding the authorship of the *Sketchs*, have now these doubts removed.

---

## VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Subhankari O Mánasánka. Third Edition.* By Kámini Kumár Chakrabarti. Printed by T. C. Biswás at the Cháru Press, Town Sherpur, 1882.

THIS is an arithmetical work "designed chiefly for boys, girls, and traders." The indigenous rules of calculation, which possess great practical interest, and the method of working out sums in addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, both simple and compound, are clearly explained, and numerous questions are given for exercise. The book is used in schools, and schoolmasters and their pupils would therefore be the fittest persons to pronounce upon its merits as an educational text-book. As the author is himself a schoolmaster, we have reason to believe that he has so written his work as to make it suitable for those for

whom it is intended, and whose requirements he is quite in a position to understand. That the work has reached its third edition in the course of four or five years is some evidence of its usefulness as a schoolbook.

---

*Sulochaná, or The Exemplary Wife.* By Gopál Chandra Datta. Calcutta: B. Banerji & Co., 25, Cornwallis Street, 1882.

THIS book professes to give the reader a photograph of an exemplary Bengali wife. The photograph produced by the author is not an exemplary one.

The story is as follows :—The elder of two brothers, a selfish drone, blessed with a designing wife and a large pack of children, appropriates to himself all the handsome earnings of the younger, who manages a large money-lending concern in the North-Western Provinces, keeps the younger's wife and child on insufficient rations, and in concert with his wife, who is a grain more shrewd than himself, endeavours to rob the whole of the younger's estate and confine the succession to his own branch of the family. The younger brother returns from service, discovers the plot, and recovers his estate. As a story of Bengali domestic life in one of its numerous aspects, this one, we feel certain, is conceived far less dramatically, and related with infinitely less art than Babu Tárak Náth Gánguli's story of *Swarnalatá*, briefly noticed in the last number of this *Review*. Every reader, indeed, of Babu Tárak Náth's excellent novel will condemn the taste and judgment of the man who has thought another novel necessary to picture forth what has been already delineated with such skill and power.

We confess that Babu Gopál Chandrá's object is, as regards one point, different from that of the writer of *Swarnalatá*. Babu Gopál Chandra wants to lecture Young Bengal on all manner of subjects, domestic, social, political, moral, religious, commercial, &c. But his lectures are so long and so very like lectures, that we feel constrained to question the correctness of the notions he entertains regarding the scope and structure of a work of art. A work written with the view of lecturing or sermonising may be anything, but it is not a work of art. Again, Babu Gopál Chandra's views on the many subjects on which he has written sermons in this work are not such as to find favor with those for whose benefit they are explained. A low tone of prudence or expediency pervades all his views. His highest conception of a human being is a man who cringes before foreign rulers and suppresses his nobler instincts for the sake of worldly advantage. The key to his thoughts is pitched very low. He thinks for the hour and not for all time. He understands the low material man, but he is incapable of conceiving the

beauty and the eternal utility of the pure man of culture. He may be a writer on party politics ; but he has not in him the fire in which may be forged a real work of art.

Babu Gopál Chandra's want of artistic power is perceived throughout the work. Although the story is intended to be taken as a story of heartless domestic deception, we are sorry to say that there is not, in all the 244 pages in which it is related, a single passage in which we feel moved or affected. Indeed, we do not remember having read another work of fiction even in Bengali which steers clear so dexterously, as does this work of Babu Gopál Chandrá Datta, of the region of the heart and of the waves of feeling. As regards character-painting, Babu Gopál Chandrá is as unsuccessful in this as he is in all other things. The younger brother Rámhari, who is represented as spending all his life like a prudent matter-of-fact man, suddenly falsifies himself towards the close of the story by adopting the somewhat romantic and sensational plan of hiding his personality in the disguise of a Sannyási. And Rámhari's wife, Sulochaná, who is intended to be taken as an exemplary wife, but who always remains at an immeasurable distance from that high ideal, sometimes renders herself even ridiculous by writing such letters as the following to her absent husband :—

"প্রীয়তমে, একে তোমা বিহনে অন্তঃকরণ দগ্ধ হইতেছে আর চিন্তায় ও উদ্বিগ্নতায় শরীর জর্জ্জর হইয়াছে। কয় বৎসর মধ্যে এক দিন ও তোমার বিস্তারিত সংবাদ পাই নাই। বোধ হয় এ দাসীর প্রতি আর পূর্ব্বসম শ্রদ্ধাও নাই কৃপাও নাই। হইতে পারে। সুকোমল নূতন নূতন তৃণ পাইলে কোন বৃষ আর শুষ্ক তৃণপূর্ণ ক্ষেত্রকে মনে করে না। যা হউক যদি দাসীকে একান্ত পা দিয়ে ঠেলেন সুরথ নাথকে ভুলিবেননা।"

A cultivated, distressed and persecuted woman, indeed! The author's faults of style and grammar are innumerable and of various kinds.

---

*Aitihásik Pátha.* By Rajani Kánta Gupta. Printed by Bihári Lal Banerji, at Messrs. J. G. Chatterji & Co.'s Press, 44, Amherst Street, and published by the Medical Library, 97, College Street. Calcutta : 1882.

BABU Rajani Kánta Gupta is a Bengali writer of established reputation ; and, if we are rightly informed, literature is his profession. This last fact speaks well for the present state and

immediate prospects of Bengali literature. It is only a thing of value and promise and usefulness that can possess a sustaining and self-supporting power. Babu Rajani Kánta has already written several books, chiefly for educational purposes, and the book under notice is one of his latest contributions to the literature of his country and to the existing stock of Bengali school books.

*Aitihásik Pátha*, or, as the author himself styles it, *Studies in Indian History*, is not an original work, but a compilation based chiefly upon Dr. Rájendralála Mitra's recently published *Indo-Aryans*. It is written in a style, which is neither highly Sanskritised nor vulgarly colloquial. The style is easy, clear, and dignified. The subject matter of the work is also of a kind which cannot but be exceedingly interesting to lovers of Indian history. Babu Rajani Kánta writes more about the *people* of ancient India than about their kings or kingly wars. But there are one or two points on which we feel it necessary to speak somewhat freely. Our first remark will be made on the supposition that the book is not intended for educational purposes. On that supposition, we feel inclined to question the correctness of the plan on which the work has been compiled. The author's subject matter is ancient Indian History, the first Aryan immigration into India, their conquest of the country, their relations with the aborigines, their knowledge, arts, sciences, religion, manners, customs, &c., at different periods of their development, their social and political institutions, amusements, sports, &c. These are matters of which our knowledge is at the best conjectural, and, where supported by evidence, is subject to correction and material limitations. A right presentation of the subject demands, therefore, an elaborate treatment like that which is possible in a large work like Dr. Rájendralála's *Indo-Aryans*. It is only by such a treatment of the subject that the real nature of our knowledge concerning it can be clearly explained. In a small volume of 100 or 200 octavo pages, like the one under notice, the treatment of such a subject can not possibly be of the kind it ought to be; it must necessarily be brief. But to be brief in such matters is to be misleading; for want of space will leave no room for discussion, and much that is mere conjecture or speculation will necessarily appear as well-ascertained history. We are, therefore, systematically opposed to the publication of abridged editions of large antiquarian or semi-historical works. Such books serve only to misrepresent knowledge, and, by strengthening and perpetuating error, to prevent inquiries for the ascertainment of truth. The popularisation of antiquarian knowledge is fatal to the cause of history. When people in general begin to believe that to be a fact which is nothing better than conjecture, or even very

strong presumption, they do not think of making inquiries regarding it; and the appearance of public tranquility has at last a tranquilising effect on the learned world itself. The consequence is, that fiction becomes perpetual fact. On the ground of their misleading character, as well as of their mischievous influence on the cause of historic research, we are, therefore, disinclined to look with favor on such publications as the one before us, whether written in Bengali, in English, or in any other language.

We find much in Sanskrit literature concerning the caste-system, the system of Government under Hindu kings, and other ancient institutions. Now, as a matter of fact, things as they existed in ancient India must have been, if not always, at least often, very different from the theoretical accounts we read of them in Sanskrit works. All Brahmans were not learned in the Vedas, all Kshatriyas were not warriors, nor was every Hindu king a typical vicegerent of God, as the *Sastras* required him to be.

There is an error, or rather a species of error, which not only writers like Babu Rajani Kánta, but even men who conduct original researches, are often found to commit in writing or talking about ancient India. In describing ancient Hindu manners and customs, they frequently make general statements like the following one :—

"স্ত্রীলোকেরা সুরাপান করিত অথচ ইহারা দণ্ডনীয় হইত না। স্ত্র-পুরুষে একত্র নৃত্য করিত, একত্র জলক্রীড়া করিত এবং একত্র নানাবিধ পশু পক্ষীর অর্দ্ধদগ্ধ মাংস ভোজন ও সুরাপান করিয়া পরিতৃপ্ত হইত * "

Considering the nature of the evidence which is to be found in Sanskrit books, it may not be difficult to believe that such customs as are described in this extract prevailed in certain social ranks, or among certain tribes, or within certain areas in ancient India. But it would be, we are afraid, as unsafe to say, regarding any custom, that it was of universal prevalence among ancient Hindus, as that it is observed at the present time by all Hindus, whether living in Bengal, in Madras, in Bombay, in the North-Western Provinces, in the Panjab, or in Assam. Historic presumption is in favor, not of uniformity of development, but of diversity of development among the various Hindu peoples in ancient India; and the diversified civilisation of modern India seems to be but a continuation of a very old order of things. But those who write on such subjects generally overlook this point and

* See *Aitihásik Pátha*, by Rajani Kánta Gupta, p. 72.

represent facts of partial importance as possessing a very general interest.

*Aitihásik Pátha* ought not to be placed in the hands of school-boys.

---

*Kumári Kárpentárer Jiban-charit.* By Rajani Kánta Gupta. Printed and published by Mr. M. M. Rakshit, at the Sádhárán Bráhma Samáj Press, 45, Beniátolá Lane, College Square. Calcutta, 1882.

THIS is another new work by Babu Rajani Kánta Gupta, and it belongs to the Mary Carpenter Series. Of this series, we are sorry to say, we cannot speak so highly as we could have wished. We are afraid the writers have, perhaps not quite deliberately, aimed at teaching European forms of social and domestic life to Bengali women, have not, at any rate, suited their teaching to the present circumstances of Bengali society, or taken due notice of those social arrangements with which Bengali culture, both intellectual and moral, is at present intimately connected. Babu Rajani Kánta's *Life of Mary Carpenter* is a work to which this remark does in some measure apply. The works of benevolence and philanthropy are performed in different ways by different peoples. In some countries, as in India, charity is a strictly private and individual concern; in some countries, as in England, it is often a public concern managed by organised public bodies. It should not be thought, however, as is apparently done by many people here, that the form in which philanthropic works are done is a small matter and may be easily altered. Forms of alms-giving and well-doing are the outcome of many social forces and are intimately related to the spirit of a people's life as determined by the nature of their whole past history. The life of a philanthropist, like Miss Mary Carpenter, is the natural and necessary product of English culture, English energy, English social and political life, and English history. It is not, therefore, a sort of life that can be reproduced *anywhere* and *at pleasure*. We are, for this reason, at a loss to understand, what good purpose can be served by making Bengali girls read the record of a life of philanthropy like that of Miss Mary Carpenter. That philanthropy is of a kind for the practice of which Hindu society presents few opportunities and possesses no machinery. The practice of it, moreover, demands a kind of energy and a power of combining scattered materials which, we are sorry to say, not even Hindu *males* possess. Lastly, the spirit of that philanthropy is the result of a system of life and culture which is organically different from that which has been up to this time at work in this country. It is, in

fact, the spirit of a totally different, and in some respects higher social level than what has been yet attained by the Hindus of Bengal. It is, therefore, easy to understand that Miss Mary Carpenter's system of philanthropy is one which cannot be now thoroughly comprehended and grasped in this country. These are truths which are entirely overlooked by the writers of Indian school-books, and have been completely disregarded by Babu Rajani Kánta Gupta and the Bengal Branch of the National Indian Association at whose request this memoir has been compiled. Bengali girls will study this memoir to no purpose; and if its study does produce any effect, it will be, we are afraid, a positively unwholesome one. A few ambitious Hindu girls, freed from the restraints of Hindu society, will simply add a conspicuous item to the list, already grown too long, of ridiculously lifeless and spasmodic imitations of English forms of action.

The chief fault of the author's style is its predominant Englishism, of which the following may be taken as instances:—

(*a*) কুমারী কার্পেণ্টর কৃষককে কার্য্য তৎপর দেখিয়া ব্যগ্রতার সহিত কহিয়া উঠিলেন, "আমিও কাজে আসিতে চাই, আমিও কাজে আসিতে চাই"।

(*b*) জীবনের প্রথম সোপানে পদার্পণ করিয়া

(*c*) ব্রিষ্টলে আসিলে ডাক্তার কার্পেণ্টারের কার্য্য-ক্ষেত্র অধিকতর বিস্তৃত হইয়া পড়ে।

Babu Rajani Kánta has simply compiled facts, instead of explaining their meaning. Thus, he says that Miss Mary Carpenter received religious advice from her father when she was only three years of age; but he does not explain how or in what method religious instruction was imparted to an infant of only 3 years. He has said many unnecesary things. For one instance, take the following:—

"মান্দ্রাজ হইতে কুমারী কার্পেণ্টার ২০ এ নবেম্বর ভাগীরথীর মুখে উপস্থিত হন। তিনি এক খানি ফরাশী জাহাজে আসিয়াছিলেন।"

Of what use would it be to Bengali girls, or, for the matter of that, to anybody in the world, to know that Miss Carpenter came from Madras to Calcutta in a French, and not in a Dutch or Portuguese steamer? The man who puts down many unnecessary facts in a compilation which is designed to convey the largest amount of *useful* knowledge in an exceedingly compact form, is

not a judicious worker. Altogether, the book under notice is not worthy of the reputation of Babu Rajani Kánta Gupta.

For all the reasons we have stated above, we are strongly of opinion, that it would be unwise and probably mischievous to place this book in the hands of Bengali girls.

---

*Jiban Atmá o Maner Baijnánik Byákhyán.* Printed by Nabin Chandra Chakrabarti, at the Bháratmihir Press. Mymensingh 1881.

THIS work contains a "scientific exposition of life, soul and, mind." It is based upon the researches of modern European scientists into the phenomena of life and the nature of those operations which are called mental and spiritual. The properties of inanimate substances, the phenomena of conception, gestation and birth, the development of what are ordinarily called mental powers, the physiological structure of man and other animals, the different bodily functions, these and various other subjects of interest, are touched upon and explained in this work. The author displays a considerable knowledge of European authorities on physiology, biology, and scientific psychology, and apparently leans on the side of materialism. He has made an excellent use of his knowledge by writing this book. His work, we are sure, would have been more useful, if the style of exposition adopted in it had been of a more elementary nature. English-knowing Hindus study such subjects in English books, and they would not be therefore likely to read the work under notice. There are many Hindus, however, who know not English, or who know it very imperfectly, for whom a Bengali exposition of an interesting subject like that which is treated of in this work would be desirable. But the exposition which would suit their unlearned understandings must be a very easy and elementary one, which the present one is not. We trust the author will bear this in mind, and increase the usefulness of his really able and valuable work by recasting it on the principles we have indicated. The work, as it stands, is certainly a substantial contribution to Bengali literature.

---

*The Sanhitás. Nos.* 1 *to* 4. Translated and published with the Originals, by Hara Sundara Tarkaratna. Printed by Jadunáth Bhattáchárya, at the Bháratmihir Press. Mymensingh, 1286 and 1287, B. S.

*THE Sanhitás,* No. 5, translated and published with the Originals, by Hara Sundara Tarkaratna. Printed by Ramá-Náth Ráya, at the Charu Press, Sherpur, 1881.

The Sanskrit *Sanhitás* are institutes of Hindu law and religion, embracing all topics of practical social interest for the people of this country. They contain regulations regarding the occupations and mutual relations of the different castes, education, marriage, domestic life, purificatory ceremonies, daily and periodical sacraments, penances and punishments for sins and crimes, the civil law, the duties of kings, and the political system, &c. As codes, they are, perhaps, without a parallel in any other country; for they include all possible subjects connected with individual, domestic, social, political, and religious life, so far as life in those various forms was developed in ancient India. Like the social system of the Hindus, these *Sanhitás* display a capacity for codifying or systematising, which some nations of our time would do well to endeavour to understand. We do not wish, nor is this the place, to enter into the question of whether such compact and compendious codes of national life do in the long run produce more harm than good, though we may remark, as we pass on, that we are by no means inclined to accept the *ipsi dixit* of some living western jurists on this very difficult but imperfectly understood subject. But we feel no hesitation in saying, that these wonderful Sanhitás of the Hindus—very much more wonderful as specimens of codification than the Institutes of Justinian, the Code Napoleon, the New York Civil Code, or the Indian Penal Code—clearly indicate an amount and a kind of intellectual *culture* of which no conception has been yet formed in Asia or in Europe. They are masterpieces of their kind.

For this reason, as well as on account of their practical value and historical importance, we hail the appearance of this serial. It will contain all the original *Sanhitás*, together with a Bengali translation by Pandit Hara Sundara Tarkaratna. In the five parts before us, we have the *Sanhitás* of Atri and Vishnu, and a portion of that of Yajnavalkya. The Bengali translation is easy and elegant. It is a sign of the times that Brahmin scholars are now unsealing those books which their ancestors kept carefully concealed, and out of which they only communicated to others just as little as they chose to disclose. We have an impression, and facts are every day coming to light, that do much to confirm it, that, in spite of his proverbial exclusiveness and conservatism, it is the Brahmin of India who has been appointed by destiny to expound Brahminical literature to the world. A country's literature is its truest history, and it is a bare truism, that the history of a country cannot possibly be written by a foreigner. The temper and genius of a people forms the most vital element of their history, and the temper and genius of a people is inherited, and therefore *felt* only by one of their own descendants, and not by a foreigner. The modern

Brahmin is the *completest* inheritor of the temper and genius of ancient Hindu culture, and we have hopeful signs before and around us, that the modern Brahmin will sooner or later explain to the world the *true* history of his country.

---

*Sakuntalâ-tattwa, or a Review of Kalidás's drama of Sakuntalá.* By Chandra Nath Basu, M. A. Printed by Kedár Náth Bhattáchárjya, at the New Arya Press, and published by Jogesh Chandra Banerji, at the Canning Library. Calcutta, 1881.

BABU Chunder Nath undertakes in this work to discuss the dramatic merits of Kalidas's Avignyan Sakuntala. We are bound to confess that he has succeeded admirably. We do not know, and cannot from this distance of time guess, what was the opinion of ancient Indian *savants* regarding the merits of this famous drama. All that we know is, that they gave their unqualified praise to this grand production, as would appear from the often quoted couplet:—

"কালিদাসস্য সর্ব্বস্বং অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তলং
তত্রাপিচ চতুর্থাঙ্কঃ যত্র যাতি শকুন্তলা।"

Since the translation of the drama into English by Sir W. Jones, criticism on Sakuntala assumed a different form. That eminent scholar and critic gave the whole weight of his authority to establish the view, that though Sakuntala was a great poem, *as a drama*, it was far inferior to Shakespeare's first-class productions, and that the first two acts could be safely expunged without diminishing its dramatic excellence. Sakuntala laboured under the depreciating effect of this one-sided criticism for the last hundred years, during which men of culture have adopted this unfair estimate of Sir W. Jones. We owe to Chandra Babu's high esthetic culture the recovery of this drama from the congealing effect of this depressing criticism. He has established that Sakuntala is a drama, and a drama not a bit inferior to Shakespear's best works. He has viewed the work as a whole, and shown how the characters have been developed, and how they work upon one another.

In order to understand Chandra Babu's book, we must briefly explain the nature of true criticism. The old Hindu *rhetoricians* would weigh every sentence, every happy expression, almost every word in the scale, and would first show whether they conformed to the ordinary canons of *Alankár*. They would take every stanza into consideration, bit by bit, and point out the beauties of style, of figure, or of diction contained in it. Their business was to examine the garb in which a book was clothed, but not so much to

understand what lay within it. In short, if a book wore a gentle dress, it came safe from their trial and passed for a good book. If the reader remembers the old stanza—

উপমা কালিদাসস্য ভারবেরর্থ গৌরবং
নৈষধে পদলালিত্যং মাঘে শান্তি ত্রয়োগুণাঃ।

he will understand that Kalidas has been praised more for his well-balanced metaphors than for the poetry that underlies his compositions.

The spirit of such criticism has however evaporated. We no longer consider poems as mere lifeless organisms possessing only external tinsel. We no longer take into our consideration and analyse every part of a book separately from its other parts without showing the relation which exists between each part and the whole. Without analysing, we rise by synthesis to higher generalizations till we catch the very principles which lie imbedded throughout. The poet is a seer; he is a maker. His creations are so many worlds, the horizon of which contracts or expands according as his position is lower or higher than the ordinary level. It is the duty of the critic to find out the life principles of this creation, to measure and explain the different forces that act upon its several units, and to show the resultant effect of the forces which keep the units together. These units are not material atoms. They are living beings, they are men speaking and acting like ourselves. It is the duty of the true critic to explain the *vis viva* of these units, to analyse their individual, relative and combined tendencies, and then to find out the secret of the singular creations of the poet.

We are indebted to Babu Chandra Náth for raising Bengali criticism to this higher standard. We do not find any other work in Bengali literature in which the art of criticism has been so highly developed. He has, in the first chapter of his work, given us a clear idea of what a true drama is, and how Kalidas's Sakuntala comes up to the standard of a drama. To understand this, we have to refer to certain facts which helped the development of this class of dramas in Sanskrit literature. Ancient Indian sages were absorbed in the study and contemplation of the *soul*. They understood the greatness of the soul. The soul was to them everything, and the external world, nothing. In fact, they neglected the study of the external world altogether. We can form some idea of the height which this study reached, when we consider that they thought the soul not inferior to the Creator; nay, it was the Creator himself. But what is the tendency of the present age? To study the external world at

the expense of real psychology. Some modern sages consider the external world to be all in all, and the soul as good as nothing. Many of them deny the existence of the soul altogether. To them soul-power is a mere fiction, only a singular development of the all-pervading energy. This is the cause, why in Sanskrit dramas the conception of the mind is different from what it is in western dramas. The Hindu who knows the greatness of the soul, cannot represent it as succumbing under the force of external circumstances, or to feelings which are but accidents of the soul's contact with the external world. Western thinkers would paint nature as they understand it, as something whose external influence crushes the whole soul. We thus find in Shakespear's dramas, men sinking under external influences. But the Sanskrit drama is a study of the soul. It is something like a psychology in which the soul-power is clearly described. It is for this reason that the Hindu drama possesses a moral excellence which European dramas essentially lack.

After explaining in the first chapter what a true drama is, our author, has in the second given us a sketch of Dusyanta's character, and in the third, that of Sakuntala. In the fourth, he has placed these two high ideals of character (male and female) side by side. In the fifth, he dives into the inner meaning of the drama. In the sixth, the minor characters are delineated. In the seventh, he compares the full blown drama with the skeleton story in the Mahabharat; and points out how from the meagre story of Vyasa, this grand work of imagination has been evolved, and how one rough character in the story has been split up into many, a different phase of the same character being assigned to each.

Now let us take a view of the character of Dusyanta. This Dusyanta, this ideal man, represents the perfect soul, exerting all along to crush external influences, and the overpowering force of grosser feelings. His mind being thus placed in relief on a back ground of strong worldly temptations and sufferings, shines with a halo of glory perfectly consonant to the Hindu idea. The main spring of Dusyanta's character is his altruistic tendencies, which produce a high standard of soul-development. That soul, according to Hindu ideas, connot succumb to external influence. But even such a soul is amenable to love. Love, according to Hindu ideas, is not passion, for it is not the source of pain, as Chandra Babu would say, but it is a part and parcel of the soul, it is altogether different from what is called *kám*. We therefore think that Kalidas did not introduce love as a disturbing element.

We believe Chandra Babu is wrong in asserting that the sufferings of Dusyanta are to be accounted for by the fact of his soul giving way to the influences of grosser feelings, *i.e.*, love. He is

wrong in supposing that a virtuous life must be a life without suffering. Suffering is but the outcome of our soul's contact with the world, and cannot be always accounted for by its giving way to grosser feelings. According to Chandra Babu, and we fully endorse his views, Sakuntala solves the great question of society. As Goethe's Faust solves the question of life, so does Sakuntala solve the question of society. Durbásá is the poetic embodiment of the *spirit* of the laws of society, stubborn, inflexible, inexorable! He does not make his appearance on the stage, for the spirit of a law is something that is invisible. Dusyanta, a gigantic intellect, the *beau ideal* of a king, the sheet anchor of society, who keeps many worlds moving round him, is the noblest embodiment of the spirit of society. Sakuntala is the ideal woman that always loses her existence in that of those she loves, is like a cement that keeps society together, wherever she goes. Whether in the hermitage, or in the palace, or on the Himalayas, she is always the central point of attraction.

The drama sets forth, as Chandra Babu says, the evils of secret marriage under any circumstances however favourable. It proves, in charming and convincing language, that nothing should be done that law forbids, and it teaches a lesson, the highest that could be taught in Brahmanical society.

BRITISH
24 JY 83
MUSEUM

21